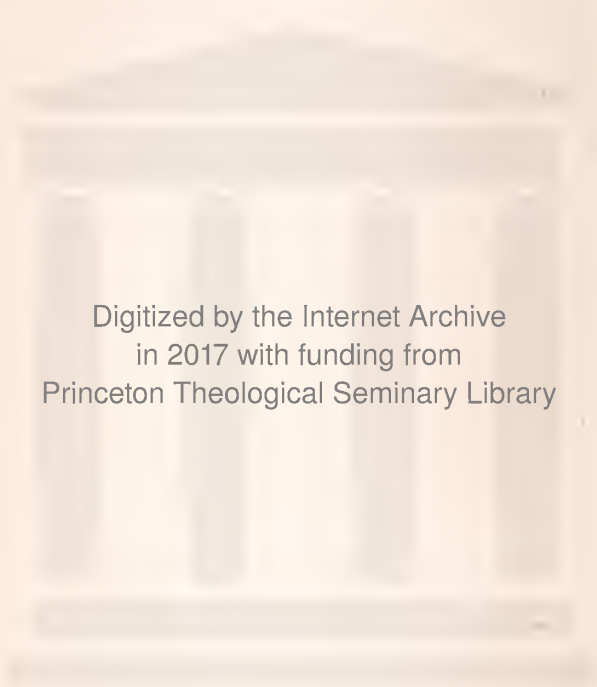


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MISSIONARY ACHIEVEMENT

MISSIONARY . . ACHIEVEMENT

A SURVEY . . .
OF
WORLD-WIDE . .
EVANGELISATION

BASED ON THE . . .
GAY LECTURES, 1907



W. T. WHITLEY
M.A., LL.D., F.R.HIST.S.

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY
NEW YORK CHICAGO TORONTO

So, still within this life,
Though lifted o'er its strife,
Let me discern, compare, pronounce at last,
"This rage was right i' the main,
That acquiescence vain,
The Future I may face now I have proved the Past."

For more is not reserved
To man, with soul just nerved
To act to-morrow what he learns to-day ;
Here, work enough to watch
The Master work, and catch
Hints of the proper craft, tricks of the tool's true play.

BROWNING.

TO
THE MEMORY OF
HARRY GEORGE WHITLEY
SAILOR MISSIONARY ON THE CONGO
1883

Preface

A LIFELONG interest in missions was increased by an invitation to co-operate in the training of candidates for foreign service. To gain some special knowledge for this, a winter was spent on several mission fields in India. This led to fresh duties as Secretary of a foreign committee, and Editor of its organ.

Attention was soon directed to the history of missionary enterprise in the past. Then came an opportunity to clarify thought on the subject, by a call to speak to hundreds of students for the ministry at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville. Since this institution keeps the claim of foreign service well to the front, it was decided that the Gay Lectures for 1907 should deal with the story of missionary achievement in five continents. This led to the

special study of scores of works by masters of their subjects.

The Lectures have undergone careful revision, and in their present form will prove of interest to the Lord's people generally. An enlarged list of books for reference is appended for those who wish to continue the study of this important subject.

The author trusts that the Owner of the vineyard will forgive, where His plans for the world's husbandry have been here misconceived; and that God will prompt others to study them more closely, and expound them more powerfully. Meantime it will be his joy if some who read these pages may be quickened to hear the call of the Master, who ever comes seeking helpers, and may go and labour in His vineyard before the precious fruit perish.

Contents

INTRODUCTION

	PAGE
Christianity essentially missionary—A moral failure—The charge to enlighten the Nations—Victories and Defeats—Three crucial centuries—This age alert—Through the Continents of the World	xiii

I. FAILURE IN ASIA

The Study of Anatolia and Arabia postponed—Failure of Asiatic Christianity—Our Religion met by four great nations . . .	3
---	---

1. JEWS

The Rejected Messiah—The Priests and the Pharisees—The Jewish Christians—Clementines—The error of Outward Continuity—Characteristics—Minority—Muhammad influenced by Jewish Christians—Legacies to Christianity :—The teaching of Jesus ; Professional Missionaries ; Scripture ; Worship ; Christ the focus of history—Dubious later gifts	4
---	---

2. SYRIANS, ARMENIANS, AND PERSIANS

Aramaic—Edessa—A Gospel harmony—A philosopher won—A Church of Celibates—Armenia—A converted king—Persian revolution—The Apostle Thomas in Baluchistan—Zoroastrian revival—Persecution—Revised Syriac Bible—A Persian church—No Persian Bible—Revised constitution—Muslim rule—Christianity again becomes missionary—Local influence on Islam	14
--	----

3. INDIA, SOUTH AND NORTH

Emigration to Cochin—No Tamil version—The Ganges valley—The Buddha—Establishment of Buddhism—A missionary king—Brāhmans and Christians—Loans from Christianity—Salvation by faith—Disappearance of Buddhism—The Bible of the Rāmaites—Second borrowing from Christianity—The Tamil leaven	27
---	----

4. CHINA, BUDDHIST AND CONFUCIAN

An imported religion—Taoism as a home product—Arrival of Persian missionaries—Native clergy—Patriotic opposition—Second attempt under Mongols—Vision of a Tatar Christian empire—Mark of Pekin—Patriarch of Babylon—Latin	
---	--

jealousy—Muslim ferocity—Chinese hostility—Devastation by Timur	PAGE 40
Four ancient religions unconquered—Not taken into account by missionaries—No organisation or method—No strategy—Syriac Christianity not adaptable	50

II. SUCCESS IN EUROPE

Contrast with Asia—The story of Christianity in Europe familiar—Only mission frontier work—The Anatolian Peninsula—Success by 1500 A.D.	57
---	----

1. THE GREEK WORLD

Westwards to Lyons—Hellenistic Jews—The Septuagint—Jewish adherents the nucleus—Capitals occupied—Ephesus the metropolis—Attack on Greek gods—Christian frontiersmen—City churches—Provincial synods—Churches and missionaries—Celsus and Porphyry—Decius—Conquest of the Greeks—The evils resulting:—Lower morality, Philosophy, Polytheism, Idolatry, Sacramentalism and Sacerdotalism—Needless accretions	59
--	----

2. THE ROMAN WORLD

Consolidation in Rome—Slow progress outside—The opposition of Mithraism—A military cult—Manichæism opposing—Another Persian religion—Uniformity exacted—Christian customs codified—A stereotyped pattern for missionaries	70
---	----

3. THE UNCIVILISED TRIBES

Keltic gods—Martin of Tours—Britons in Ireland—Monks becoming missionaries—Ninian in Ireland and at Penrith—Conciliation of Druids—Learning utilised—Kentigern on the Dee and the Clyde—Columba on Iona—The northern isles—Columban up the Rhine—Saint Gall—Heligoland—Gregory and Austin—Aidan at Lindisfarne—The Abbess Hilda at Whitby—Gregory's statesmanship—Wulf and the Gothic Bible—Theodore and Boniface organising missions—The German epic of Christ—Conversions perforce—Norse opposition—Gauntlet or Gospel—Iceland—The Slavonic Bible and Liturgy—Muscovites baptized in large numbers—Baltic shores reduced—An Auto-da-fé	76
The Empire:—Elements rejected; Penalty paid later; A warning to present-day missionaries; Monks and versions—Barbarians:—Mission finance; Well-manned stations; Native workers; Missionary strategists; Little harmful assimilation; Slow progress, but sure and enduring	99

CONTENTS

xi

PAGE

III. THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICA

The problem of Islam—Two geographical facts—Influence of European Christian Powers 109

1. WINNING THE NORTH COAST

Native Copts—Monasticism in Egypt—The Native Church—Kabyles, Tyrians, and Latins at Carthage—The Latins won—Missions languish and Paganism revives 111

2. PROGRESS IN ARABIA AND ABYSSINIA

Aden and Mecca—Arabian heathenism—Poetic contests—Jewish-Christian Immigrants—The south occupied—Abyssinia won—Ethiopic version of the Scriptures—War with Mecca—Idolatry there—Muhammad—Religious wars—The Qur'ân . 115

3. EXTINCTION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE NORTH

Defection of the Copts—Egypt the Muslim stronghold—Nubia starved out—Abyssinia stagnant—Vandals and Berbers pass over—Strangulation of Carthaginian Christianity . . . 121

4. THE RIVAL MISSIONS TO THE BLACKS

Isolated from the north—Sudanese and Bantu—Muslim enterprise—Negro bishops—Slave trade as a form of missions—Neglect till 1800 A.D.—Scramble for Africa—Higher criticism of the Qur'ân:—Heathen, Jewish, Semi-Christian, Persian elements—Islam's offers:—The Muslim God; Ritualism; Law; Morality; Social system; Rabbis—Muslim mission methods:—Force obsolete; Education; Professional missionaries; Traders; Sanusi brotherhood; Cairo University—Equality?—Prospects of Islam—Political attitude of European Powers 128

IV. EXPANSION IN AMERICA

European Christianity influencing new races—Freedom to worship God—Modification in new surroundings 153

1. MISSIONS TO NATIVES

Paraguay and the Jesuits—The Reductions—Tutelage—Protestant apathy—North America—Eskimos—Brazilians—West Indian negroes—Mexico and Peru—"Baptized Heathenism"—Condemned by the Pope—Missions in papal fields—A neglected continent—A native ministry 155

2. EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY DEVELOPING IN NEW SURROUNDINGS.

Influence of Environment—Changes eliminate the accidental—Illustration from Monasticism—Sunday schools—Endeavour societies—Organisation—Doctrine 176

Change to be governed by the Holy Spirit—Romanism in North America—Romanism at home—Europe a needy field—America the experimental station 183

V. REPLANTING IN ASIA

No defeat accepted as final—Other forms of Christianity brought	191
1. THE JESUITS IN INDIA, CHINA, JAPAN	
Cathay not recognised—Jesuits a mission body—Xavier pioneering—Adaptation—Japan expels the Jesuit missionaries—Chinese compromises—Malabar rites—Modern likeness to Paganism—Propaganda—Scientific study	192
2. NEW BASES ACQUIRED OFF THE COAST	
Work in the Pacific—Related to Asia—Oceania—Philippines long isolated—Portuguese and Dutch—First Protestant mission versions—Formosa and Ceylon—Advantage of government patronage?—Danes at Tranquebar—Caste—Aborigines of New Zealand and Australia—New homes of whites	199
3. THE NEW FORCES IN INDIA	
Centre of gravity on the Ganges—Serampur versions—Planning expeditions—Buddhists hard to approach—Hindus numerous—Individualism exceptional—Value of poetry—Sacerdotalism—Alternative attitudes to the past—Muslim pride—Argue from Qur'ân—Ten millions accessible—Attracted by the Wheel, the Trident, the Crescent and the Cross—These out-castes the pressing problem—Political situation favourable	207
4. THE OUTLOOK IN CHINA	
A fifth attempt—Education changing—Patriotism suspicious—Local religions unimportant—Kaleidoscopic situation—Personal dealing—Paid native agents—Opium	215
5. THE VALUE OF JAPAN	
Even Russia works!—America's duty—Patriotism and Ancestor-worship—Opportunism like Constantine's—Buddhist ambition—Secular schools—A native Church—Best base	219
6. THE CRADLE OF CHRISTENDOM	
Cowed by the Muslim—Islam faltering—Perishing by the sword?—Responsive to preaching—A stationary system—A benumbed Church—Preaching illegal—The field for laymen and women:—Industrial, medical, literary, educational, harem work—America's opportunity—Catholic weakness—Ishmael and Isaac	223
SEVENTEEN CENTURIES OF MISSIONS	233
BIBLIOGRAPHY	235

ERRATA : On pages 29, 32, 38, 57, 69, 91, 95, *for*
"Arian" *read* "Aryan."

On page 245, column 2, line 18, *for*
"forms" *read* "focus."

Introduction

CHRISTIANITY is a Missionary religion. This is no accident, nor an afterthought of man, but the eternal purpose of the all-wise God. For ages the mystery of salvation had been hidden; but the Father purposed that His manifold wisdom should be made known through the Church as soon as the Son of Man had been lifted up. Our Lord, on the last evening of His earthly ministry, gladly and solemnly reflected that He had accomplished the work given Him to do. His request now was, first for the men who had been given Him out of the world, that they should be kept from the evil one; and then that all who should believe on Him through their word might be one. He had spent much of His energy in training a band of missionaries. After that death on the Cross, which crowned His life, He gave His parting injunction to these followers that they should evangelise the world, enlist other followers, and train them in turn to Christian service. Thus at the outset, the scope of our duty was plainly and emphatically announced.

This Missionary programme, viewed on its human side,

was original. Most religious leaders had confined themselves to their own peoples. Even among the Jews, it was rarely that the very greatest of them thought of their faith as meant for all nations; and though some ardent souls would compass sea and land to make one proselyte, yet their success was small in their own eyes, and it was branded by our Lord as in reality a moral failure. For Him it was reserved to teach new truths, to make atonement for the sins of the world, and to ensure that His work should continue and develop, by founding a Society whose leading purpose was to spread the knowledge of what He had wrought, not slackening endeavour till all nations had been enlightened.

This magnificent charge has always been heeded by a faithful few; with varying energy, with varying skill, soldiers of the Cross have always been found on the frontiers of Christendom. During the last century, the primary duty of the Church has attracted increasing attention, and there is now no quarter of the world purposely or accidentally excluded from the sphere of Christian effort. Lest strength be misdirected, it is well for those who are not in the din of conflict at the front, to take a survey of the whole field, that they may try and comprehend the principles of the holy warfare. The experience of nineteen centuries deserves to be scanned, for the victories and defeats of missionaries happened by way of example; and they may serve for our admonition, that we may avoid repeating their mistakes, and may improve upon their successes.

When we look for important eras, we can recognise

three centuries crucial for the spread of Christianity: the seventh, the thirteenth, and the nineteenth. The first of these periods, 600 A.D. to 700 A.D., marks the rise and marvellous success of Islam, well called a counter-mission; it broke up the continuity of Christian lands around the Mediterranean, and permanently separated the two mission centres of Babylon and Rome. The second period, 1200 A.D. to 1300 A.D., marks the revival in the Western world which soon won the rest of Europe, regained Spain, and even tried to Romanise the Levant; while it shows the culmination of Christianity in Asia, with native Churches in Syria, Persia, Turkestan, North China, South India, and even in the islands of Socotra, Ceylon, and Java. The third period, 1800 A.D. to 1900 A.D., marks the deliberate attempt to evangelise the whole world, recognised at last as the paramount task of the Church.

During these ages, the seed of the Gospel has been cast into very different soils, and each yielded a different result. Asia contained three great empires with venerable religions: China indeed lay secluded behind vast deserts, and was not in touch with Jewry; but India was known, and could be reached by land or sea; while Parthia, which only forty years before our Lord's birth had ruled over Jerusalem, still governed millions of Jews in the splendid realm across the Euphrates. Europe was the headquarters of the great Roman Empire spreading around the Mediterranean, where in the East the civilisation was of a Greek cast; while in the West the Latin influence predominated. Africa in the North shared the

same culture ; but beyond the Sudan and the Sahara lay other races of more primitive type, yet equally needy of salvation. Across the Western ocean were other lands ; and when Christianity was dying in its native continent a new world was opened to it in America. And then westward, the course of Empire still holding its way, the circuit of the globe leads to Asia anew—yes, to a new Asia, awaking from lethargy, and uncertain what path to follow, thus needing most urgently the authoritative, “Come and see!”

Thus to follow the march of the centuries, thus to sweep through the continents of the world, is to get some glimpse of how all times and all lands are in the almighty hand of our Father. Through Christ He created the ages ; in Christ He claimed the world. The outworking of His plan of redemption we do not fully understand ; but enough of that mystery which had been kept in silence through times eternal has now been revealed, to lead us in adoration to the only wise God, through Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory for ever !

MISSIONARY ACHIEVEMENT



I

FAILURE IN ASIA

Our yet unfinished story
Is tending all to this :
To God the greatest glory,
To us the greatest bliss.

From broken alabaster
Was deathless fragrance shed,
The spikenard flowed the faster
Upon the Saviour's head.

The discord that involveth
Some startling change of key,
The Master's hand resolveth
In richest harmony.

HAVERGAL.

I

Failure in Asia

THE Holy Land is essentially a fragment of Asia, although in the providence of God the European power of Rome was dominant there during the earthly life of our Lord. If now and again the dwellers by the Nile claimed a footing, yet it harboured chiefly the Semites of Arabia, and was ruled generally from the Euphrates or Tigris. There is reason, then, in examining first the spread of Christianity in its native continent. The study may be the more interesting as its story has never been written in our tongue, and the facts have had to be gleaned with patience from all manner of sources.

The field of Asia may, however, be narrowed by setting aside three great areas : first, that Anatolian land called by us Asia Minor, which is better treated in connection with Europe, whose civilisation it largely shares, and whence it has been ruled for centuries ; second, we may postpone the study of Arabia, which from a religious point of view is associated rather with Africa ; third, we may ignore Siberia and the North as a tract of land then utterly unimportant.

Again, we may draw the line at the period when Asiatic Christianity had spent its force. Thrice has Europe

tried to transplant her religion : once in the Middle Ages, by force, in the Crusades ; once at the dawn of the modern world of commerce, when the friars and the Jesuits were the heroes ; once again when Protestantism essayed the task anew, with the weapons of thought. But these attempts represent the Western world seeking to dominate or to rejuvenate the East ; and if help is to be gained for modern ambassadors, there must first be study of what Asiatics have done for Asiatics, how they succeeded and why they failed. For we know that by 1400 A.D. they had failed, conspicuously and finally, and that Christianity in Asia was then absolutely negligible.

Our religion in its Eastward progress met four great nations—the Jews, the Parthians or Persians, the Indians, the Chinese. Let us note how it fared with each of these.

1. THE JEWS

We to our past adhere,
 The onward path we fear,
 We keep the faith for which our fathers bled :
 We will not yield one jot,
 Let zeal be fierce and hot—
 Smite them and spare them not,
 Till they their faith deny, or lie among the dead.
PLUMPTRE.

Poore nation, whose sweet sap and juice
 Our cyens have purloined, and left you dry :
 Whose streams we got by the Apostles' sluice,
 And use in baptisme, while ye pine and die :
 Who by not keeping once, became a debter ;
 And now by keeping, lose the letter !

HERBERT.

Since whole nations have been swayed by their religious reformers, such as Zoroaster, Confucius, Gotama, Muhammad, we may be inclined to wonder why the Jews remained almost unaffected by one who was not only the Prophet long expected, but also far more than a prophet, being the Christ, the Son of the Living God. Any Israelite who was told in the year 25 A.D. that within the current high-priesthood the Messiah would come and accomplish His work, must have confidently expected a national evolution or a religious revolution. He would have been sure that there could be no failure in what God had prepared His people for during the ages. But once again Isaiah's doctrine of the Remnant was to be exemplified; once again was it to be seen that the Jews of Palestine were on the whole "bad figs," as in the days of Jeremiah, and that the best were to be sought away from the centre of contamination at Jerusalem. If Ezekiel beheld the glory of the Lord depart from the Temple, so, too, the disciples heard Jesus declare that the House was left desolate; and they beheld Him despised and rejected by His own nation. During His personal ministry He won only seventy brethren to prepare the way for Him on His journey to the Cross. And when God had set His seal on Christ's mission by the resurrection, yet there were only five hundred in Galilee who, in that hour of triumph, were enthusiastic enough to accept His gracious invitation and behold their risen Lord.

Then came the Spirit, and the proclamation of pardon

even to those who slew their Messiah. Nor was this in vain; and soon there were thousands at Jerusalem, including disciples of the Pharisees and a great company of the priests. But if hopes were ever entertained of winning the leaders and bringing the whole nation to accept Jesus as the Messiah, they must soon have faded when Stephen challenged the Temple and the customs delivered by Moses; when Paul entered into the breach made by Philip and Peter, introducing Gentiles; and when the Jewish Nazarenes agreed, however reluctantly, to recognise these on almost equal terms. Paul himself might be plotted against, or thrown into prison, but his work continued; and whatever those of the new Way might decide, the orthodox Jews held distinctly that it was an unlawful thing for them to keep company with one of another nation. Henceforth these followers of the Crucified were a sect, and their doctrine was a heresy. So far had the god of this world blinded the minds of the unbelieving.

The suppression of the great rebellion in 70 A.D., the destruction of the Temple, and the extinction of the Sanhedrin with its priestly rulers, might seem to open the way anew for the nation to realise its true destiny. But instantly the Pharisees stepped into the vacant leadership, and proceeded to close up the ranks by detecting and expelling all suspected of sympathy with Jesus. They forbade any manner of observance of the first day of the week; they framed a special "Benediction"—which reads rather like a malediction—against the "Minim,"

as they began to style their erring brethren, and caused it to be pronounced every Sabbath; they discouraged the reading of all books tainted with the heresy, even forbidding the use of a copy of the Law previously owned by a heretic. And when there came the desperate rising against Hadrian, they did their best to massacre all the Jewish Christians. This made it hopeless to think of winning over the whole of the once Chosen People; and we may confine attention to the minority which was trying on the one hand to keep the Law of Moses, and on the other to accept the grace and truth which came through Jesus the Messiah.

At the middle of the second century they still felt themselves the main Christian stock; and we hear of a Jewish Christian who recollected the precedent of Barnabas, once sent down to Antioch to inspect the doings there and assure the Church at Jerusalem that all was well with the daughter Church. In this spirit Hegesippus went on a tour of the Christian Churches; he was satisfied with what he found at Corinth and at Rome, doctrine that accorded with the Law and the Prophets and the Lord. He shows that in his circle a glorification of James had made way, as if he were a sort of high priest. But within a dozen years his party was in a minority, and soon ceased to obtain any recognition of pre-eminence. Thereupon appeal was made to the power of the pen, and a novel was published with Clement of Rome as its hero, representing him as converted by Peter in Palestine, and as looking to James at Jerusalem to

confirm him as Peter's successor. It is instructive to see how the Jewish Christians tenaciously asserted their superiority, and how they endeavoured to subject all the Christian world to an hereditary dynasty of the family of Joseph and Mary. The claim was ignored, except in so far as it kindled aspirations in the Roman Church, destined to come to fruition at no distant date.

On the other hand, the Nazarenes were cast out by the old-fashioned Jews, who give us glimpses of their separate synagogues, where they met probably on the first, fourth, and sixth days, their readers clad in white and barefooted, with phylacteries on the forehead and the palms of the hands. Thus isolated on either hand, like the Anglican communion to-day, they worked out their own theology; two leading schools appear, one purely Jewish-Christian, the second influenced by other Asiatic elements. The germs of the latter may be traced in the counterblasts of Paul and John against the heresies of Asia Minor, or in the teachings of Cerinthus as reported by Hippolytus; but this does not claim attention yet, for its influence was greatest in Europe. The Palestinian type is shown in the Talmud and in the Clementine Homilies, which reveal the way the old Jews regarded them, and the way they regarded the Gentile Christians.

As against the orthodox Jews, they upheld the reality of the resurrection of the Lord, and insisted that this was the only valid proof of a general resurrection, demand-

ing where the Old Testament promised any such thing, or even foreshadowed it. They had a high doctrine of the Person of Christ, and were charged with asserting the duality of the Godhead. To His teachings they paid respect, and on His authority they criticised the Law of Moses, declaring that only the Ten Words were still binding, and so becoming involved in frequent disputes on ritualism.

But as against Gentile Christians, they were sacerdotal and legal, and had a strong sense of the value of external continuity. Especially they regarded Christianity as continuous with Judaism, and claimed a secret tradition to prove this. Thus they inevitably continued in conflict with Paul, as their fathers had been, and the Homilies contain a virulent attack on him and his teaching. And in their view of Jesus they laid the emphasis, not with Paul, on the Cross ; nor even with Peter, on the Messiahship : but on the teaching and prophecy of Jesus Himself.

This combination of peculiarities condemned them to isolation and stagnation, and as the Church grew in other directions they became less and less important. In the fourth and fifth centuries the tendency to uniformity bore hardly on them ; and the " Catholic Church," having taken over to itself their chosen dogmas of continuity, sacerdotalism, and legalism, at length excluded them altogether as heretics.

If any of them resented this, they had a magnificent revenge ; for all the knowledge that Muhammad had of Jesus seems to have reached him through some Jewish

Christians, and the *Qur'ân* reflects some of their ideas. Had there been more consideration on both sides, more interchange of thought between Jewish and Gentile Christians, Muhammad might have had a richer and deeper conception of Jesus; his watchword might have varied, and he might have done for western Asia and Africa what Olopin of Persia was doing for eastern Asia, what Aidan and Chad were doing for England, what Columban was doing for Central Europe.

But as a matter of fact, most of the Jews rejected Jesus; and those who did accept Him fulfilled His forebodings, and would only take a patch of the new cloth to put upon their old garments: by thus qualifying their acceptance of Him they remained feeble and stationary, and are now extinct. Looked at outwardly, Christianity failed twice in the very place where it ought to have succeeded wonderfully. Yet, is not such an idea due to the Jewish error of outward continuity, naturalised among Christians as Apostolic Succession? Look not at peoples, but at ideas. What did the Jews bequeath to Christian thought? We can trace three distinct legacies—from our Lord, from the Apostles, from later generations.

First, Jesus Himself disengaged three great truths from the mass of Jewish beliefs, and stamped them with His authority. He endorsed the current faith in God as a living God, actively concerned with all that passed: "My Father worketh hitherto. Thy Father seeth in secret, and shall recompense thee." Then He authenticated the splendid hope for the future, both of the

world and of the individual; He transformed it by that personal touch for which our hearts crave, immeasurably enriching it by the assurance that eternal life was to know the Father and Himself; and to what had been but a pious hope without any solid foundation, He now imparted an imperishable certitude by His own reappearance from the dead, an earnest of what might happen to all. Further, He not only approved the lofty ethics of the Jews, but He frankly criticised their written Law as inadequate to the needs of their time, and selected two sentences into which He breathed new meaning, presently restating them in what He called plainly a New Commandment, enjoining Mutual Love. No religion had ever lifted such a standard before its devotees. And once more, whereas Ezekiel had claimed attention to the importance of the individual, and John the Baptist had driven this home to the individual sinner among the Jews, Jesus not only taught that every man stands or falls by himself, but added that each is saved by the personal interest of God, and through a personal devotion to Himself: “He that believeth on Me hath eternal life.”

The earliest Jewish Christians, living before the schism, brought rare contributions to Christian life and thought. To begin with, they were accustomed to a steady propaganda; and to them we are indebted for the very conception of *professional missionaries*, of men whose efforts to spread Christianity were the chief thing in life, and not mere by-products. There was no Apostolic Succession

of missionaries kept up after the Jewish element was extruded from the Church, and its influence faded out. True that here and there we find a Gregory Illuminator, a Ramon Lull, a Francis Xavier ; but these are rare exceptions. Had the Jewish custom been perpetuated, the command of Jesus might have been speedily obeyed, and all the nations might have heard the Good News a millennium ago.

Unfortunately, one item of their programme did abide, the thought that every missionary was to model his proceedings on the pattern of Jesus, the Forerunner and the Example, and the directions given by Him on one specific occasion to the twelve disciples were taken as universally applicable. Here, surely, are two fallacies : Jesus was not above all things the model missionary, but the Redeemer ; and His conduct must often have been determined by this consideration, so that it is a mistake to appeal to it as necessarily in every detail to be imitated. And the directions given to the twelve in Matthew x. bear one obvious mark of being temporary, in that they limit that mission to Jews : the details of conduct ordered on that single tour are of no more permanent binding force than the restriction, " Go not into any way of the Gentiles "—which has long since been removed by the express order, " Make disciples of all the nations." Yet the blunder persisted, and wrought serious effects : despite the plain words of Paul, despite the fact that he was a widower, settling for years at a time in one town to establish a cause, and supporting himself ; yet the

popular type of missionary was the itinerant bachelor subsisting on chance charity. The evangelists and wandering prophets of the second century were gradually discredited and supplanted by stationary local officials, and organised missionary effort correspondingly ceased.

A more useful legacy from the Jews was the *Old Testament*, the sacred literature of the Jews ; to which, as Hegesippus shows, the Jewish Christians soon added the Lord's words as equally authoritative, and to which Marcion speedily opposed the writings of Paul : so that gradually a New Testament emerged, completing a collection of standard religious literature. Familiar as this conception was in China, India, and Persia, yet in the Roman Empire it was a novelty, and the Jews must be credited with its introduction. Again they carried over a new style of *worship*, that of the synagogue, with its public reading, its responsive prayers, its chants, its preaching ; but without pompous procession or idol or priest or sacrifice. And once more, if we think of *doctrine*, the conception of Jesus as the God-sent Leader, to whom all the ages led up, and in whom all history finds its interpretation, this is their grandest legacy. Expressed with awe-stricken adoration by Paul, missionary and theologian alike, it strikes the keynote for those who would follow the philosophy of history. This glorious truth, that all things are summed up in Christ, sets us at the right point for viewing the past to elicit its meaning, and for advancing into the future cheerfully trusting the Captain of our salvation.

At a later period Gentile Christians appropriated yet other elements from the Jews, the value of which is extremely different. There was an adoption of Jewish apocalypses, and a tendency to forge writings, which could perhaps be checked by officials and kept out of public worship, but none the less were studied at home. There was an officialism which turned the business committee into a paid staff of priests, turned the teacher into a rabbi with a love for tradition, and promoted a life tenure of office with a corresponding degradation of the unofficial Christian, like "this people which knoweth not the Law, accursed." Such an inheritance as this was no part of the primitive deposit, and can only be regarded at best as a temporary husk, which must perish when the grain of wheat is sown afresh.

2. SYRIANS, ARMENIANS, AND PERSIANS

Clad in the robe I betook me
Up to the gate of the palace,
Bowing my head to the sign of the glorious
Sign of the Father that sent it;
I had performed His behest,
And He had fulfilled what He promised;
So in the satraps' court
I joined the throng of the chieftains;
He with favour received me,
And near Him I dwell in the Kingdom.

SYRIAN HYMN OF THE SOUL.

To the east and north-east of Palestine lay the basins of the Euphrates, Tigris, and Araxes, all containing Jews,

and presenting obvious fields for Christian missionaries. No difficulty would arise as to language, for the Aramaic of Palestine differed no more from the Aramaic of the Parthian kingdom than Lowland Scots from standard English. Indeed, both Matthew and Josephus wrote originally in Aramaic for this very population, and their works were read as far as the Indus. And for centuries afterward the Jews used it for their Talmud and their Targums.

Now, the Jewish rebellion of 135 A.D. was a great dividing line for Jewish Christians as for Jews proper. When it was suppressed, a Christian missionary, called Addai, came to the frontier town of Edessa, where he found Jews with translations of their Law and Prophets, and of Ben Sira's Wisdom. Many of these people he converted, and built a church for their use. Though he died in peace, his successor Aggai was less fortunate; opposition developed and he was martyred. Soon a native called Tatian returned from Rome bringing the Four Gospels which he dovetailed into a composite Life of Jesus, translating and publishing it in the vernacular. The breach between Jews and Christians is shown in the fact that he used a different alphabet; and gradually the dialect became specialised and was known as Syriac, which remained a literary language for Christians down to 1300 A.D. Soon was won a notable follower, Bar-Daisân, astrologer and philosopher. Tatian had peculiarities that the Greek world wondered at, and from this new convert Syriac Christianity received another notable impress. He specu-

lated on the origin of the world, and on the factors to determine the character and future of a man ; as against Nature, and Fate, he emphasised the reality of free will. Certainly he was excommunicated as too bold a theorist ; but if we turn to the standard book of the second century, the Doctrine of Addai, we discover that nothing is said about parentage or children or education. Indeed, the asceticism for which Tatian was blamed developed so fast that church membership at Edessa was for celibates only ! Married people might indeed attend certain parts of worship, but could not even be baptized.

Persecution reduced the Church, and the Greeks of Antioch intervened to rescue it from foes without and faddists within. A new line of bishops began about 200 A.D. with Palut, on the annexation of Edessa to the Roman Empire, and the break of continuity was marked by the river destroying the church building. For awhile the energies of the Church were directed Westward ; Cappadocia was won for Christ, and the XII. Legion quartered on this frontier became deeply leavened. When Decius and Diocletian tried to stamp out Christianity, this Legion and this Church yielded many martyrs.

From Edessa the Gospel was carried Northward to Armenia, which profited first by the presence of Bar-Daisân, then of an organiser, Gregory Illuminator. So successful were the missionaries that King Tiridates not only gave in his own adhesion, but also established it as the State religion, the first such instance known. Syriac and Greek schools were opened, and the Scriptures were

taught ; soon the sons of heathen priests were in training to become native bishops. Had we the time to spare, it would be interesting to sketch the remarkable form assumed here by Christianity, revealed to us by the Armenian "Key of Truth," before the Greek spirit affected the national Church and distracted its attention to other problems. One point is that the headship of the Church descended in Gregory's family, much as at Jerusalem it descended in the family of Joseph and Mary. And even to the present day the priesthood remains hereditary.

Until the year 230 A.D. the Eastern Kingdom, on whose borders both Syria and Armenia lay, was governed by the Parthians ; but then the Persians brought about great changes, both political and religious. The Tigris and Euphrates became again highways of travel, and the Christians of Edessa came into touch with others on the shores of the Persian Gulf and of Baluchistan. They seem to have originated from the labours of the Apostle Thomas, who evangelised those parts in the reign of King Gondophar, reigning near Cabul, and who was slain on the coast rather west of Karachi. The community he founded preserved an Aramaic "Gospel according to Matthew," which was taken to Alexandria by a missionary professor, a converted Sicilian Jew, about 180 A.D. The story of the doings of Thomas has been grievously embellished, but the very embellishments show us the ideal that obtained in the district—virginity, poverty, vegetarianism ; and in these points we recognise the local ideal of holiness, adopted later by the Brāhmans,

though as foreign to the primitive Hindu religion as to Christianity. In the year 235 A.D. a merchant brought to Edessa what he supposed were the bones of Thomas, which were deposited in the old church; and ever since then the Christians spreading throughout Persia styled themselves the "Church of Saint Thomas."¹

The political changes at this time were less important than the revival of the Persian religion. The antique national faith had been recast about the time of Ezekiel by Zoroaster, who had inspired the Medes to their national revival which overthrew Nineveh, and led Cyrus seventy years later to permit the restoration of Jerusalem. The Zoroastrians now condescended to copy Christian models; their priests were organised into a hierarchy, and presently their sacred books were gathered into a canon.

¹ The subsequent history of these bones is curious. In 394 Bishop Cyrus removed them to a grand new church in Edessa, where Sylvia of Aquitaine saw them. About fifty years later General Anatolius presented a silver casket in which they were placed, and hung by silver chains from the roof. When the separation took place between the Persian Church and the Greek, the latter retained the relics. In 1097 the Latins conquered the place, and they claim that they took the bones to Chios, where in 1127 they rededicated the cathedral to Thomas, and that in 1258 another removal took place to Ortona on the east coast of Italy, where the bead may still be seen mounted in silver. But the Greeks declare that before the Latin conquest the emperor, Alexios Comnenos, removed the head, and presented it about 1090 to a new monastery on Patmos, where also it may be seen mounted in silver, and very efficacious in its influence on the weather. It is also to be noted that in 1293 Marco Polo found in Malabar, on the coast of India, a church to the memory of Thomas, whence in 1522 the Portuguese removed what a Muslim told them were the bones of the Apostle and the lance that speared him; these are to be seen at Goa. A fourth set of bones is now displayed at the Malabar church in the suburbs of Madras.

When, a century later, Christianity was adopted by the Greek Empire as its State Religion, it was instantly regarded in Persia as an exotic enemy, and an organised campaign against it was set on foot. This, however, served rather for the furtherance of the Gospel, as in the days of Stephen; for the fugitives carried a knowledge of Christ round the coast to South Arabia, where we shall meet it on another occasion, and across the ocean to the Maldivé Isles, and especially to the south-west of India and round to Madras.

Yet the persecution was a political blunder, for the Persian Christians were not in very close touch with the Greek. Not only was the language different, but the theology also, as is shown by the writing of Afrahat, the Persian sage. So far as he had any doctrine of the Person of Christ, it was quite untouched by Greek thought, and quite innocent of the speculations of Arius and Athanasius, but represented rather the old type noticed in Armenia. Really with him Christianity was not a creed, but a life, and emphasis was laid on the conduct. Listeners and vague adherents were welcomed, but they were not admitted to fellowship unless they would take vows and become "Sons of the Covenant." This covenant was for celibates, and these alone might be baptized. Married people were not admissible, nor was any ceremony of marriage regarded as a sacrament. The origin of this peculiarity we shall understand when we study the influence of Buddhism farther Eastward. However we may deplore this narrowing, there was at least one in-

evitable gain. A church which deliberately refuses to admit members who can raise children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord must either die or be a missionary church. And this latter alternative was joyfully elected.

One more great statesman deserves notice, Rabbûlâ by name. He revised the old Bible, adding more books, modernising the language, and creating a standard text. He absorbed the great sects of Marcion and Bar-Daisân, and made the Persian Church one. But even as he brought about this unity, complete by his death in 435 A.D., fresh troubles were arising, due to the propensity of the Greeks to raise theological questions about the Person of Christ. The Persians did not sympathise, and after some hesitation cut the knot by breaking off all fellowship with the Greeks. The Persian Church was labelled by the Greeks, "Nestorian"; but this obscures the great fact that the Persian Syrians were tired of the whole subject, and were eager to develop on their own lines. The Greeks in revenge destroyed the college at Edessa, and the centre of gravity now shifted really to the twin cities of Seleucia-Ctesiphon on the Tigris, the new Persian capital forty miles north of the ancient Babylon, from which city the Patriarch now took his title.

Thus thoroughly detached from European Christianity, the Persian Church organised anew, and soon found itself confronted with a reformed Zoroastrianism furnished with a revised edition of the Avesta. The State Religion taught the lordship of Ahura Mazda, a good and wise spirit, ruling a band of angels through six archangels,

but opposed by an evil spirit. It upheld a lofty morality by the promise of a resurrection and a future judgement leading to an eternal heaven or hell; and it provided an elaborate ritual of purification. Much of this the Persian Christians agreed with; but they had two great messages to the Zoroastrian—that sin could be forgiven through Jesus Christ without the need of burdensome ceremonial, and that the whole tone of life could be raised by the help of the Holy Spirit. It is melancholy to confess that even after the Zoroastrian forces were divided by the new departures of Mazdak, no great impression was made by the Christians, though it must in fairness be allowed that the law inflicting death for perverting a Zoroastrian was no dead letter.

Yet, as we know that similar prohibitions have never by themselves been effectual, we are bound to ask what internal weakness there was in the Persian Church during the Zoroastrian period. The answer is simple—the lack of any vernacular version of the Bible. When their old Syriac college at Edessa was destroyed, and when they founded a new one at Nisibis, they had a grand opportunity to cut adrift from the West in every way, and to naturalise themselves most thoroughly. But there was one peculiar hindrance which has always handicapped the dwellers on the Tigris—the absence of a simple system of writing. The ancient cuneiform is a byword for its complexities; and although an alphabet had been worked out by old Persians, yet the Parthians hardly knew how to write their language, and for more than a thousand

words of importance wrote the Syriac word instead, thus exactly reverting to the curious hybrid custom of the Babylonians.¹ But even if an expository translation of the ancient Avesta were appended to it in this heterogeneous jumble, where for the word written was pronounced the corresponding word in another tongue, we can readily understand that the Persian Christians hesitated to abandon their pure Syriac for such pidgin-Persian; as a matter of fact, "Pahlavi" (as the Parthian form of writing was styled) was hardly used except for the sacred books of the Zoroastrians. Yet if it be true that the Jews rendered their Law into Arabic and Persic by 827 A.D., we can hardly acquit the Christians of negligence; and it is not pleasant to find that leisure was found by bishops to write learned treatises in Persian and Arabic, and even to translate Aristotle, but not to translate the Scriptures.

Without a real vernacular Bible the Christians were handicapped. But it is to be remembered that they were not corrupted like their European contemporaries. Their clergy held fast to the apostolic order that they should marry, since a synod in 499 A.D. had faced this matter and altered the custom mentioned by Afrahat. No image or picture laid them open to any charge of idolatry; no stone altar ousted the wooden table for the Lord's Supper, and exposed them to the blame of offering sacrifice.

¹ We have a similar custom, *e.g.* "112 lb., *i.e.* 1 cwt., for £1, 13s. 4d. per lb., etc.," where the Latin abbreviations, however familiar to the commercial clerk, confuse the foreigner expecting English.

Yet we have seen one striking instance of their attachment to relics, and this feeling of theirs was destined to aid a tremendous change. One of the latest Shahs was favourable to Christians, and even built churches ; but in war with the Greek Empire he captured Jerusalem and carried off what purported to be the true cross. The Persian Christians were not pleased with having this in their midst ; but were furious at the insult to their religion, intended as such by the Zoroastrians, and executed by the help of thousands of Jews. When, therefore, the Muslim armies presently attacked the Shah, first a vassal Christian king submitted, then the Christians generally welcomed the invaders. A pathetic story is told of the assassination of the last native Shah in a miller's hut, and of his body being indebted for decent burial to the Bishop of Merv, who caused the Christians to build a church over his grave.

Under Muslim rule the persecution ceased ; toleration was granted on condition that no effort was made to win converts from Islam. The same embargo was laid on the Zoroastrians, and at length the two religions met on equal terms. In the homeland both long maintained their footing, and in the *Arabian Nights* we read how in the days of Aaron the Just, caliph of Baghdad, Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, and Muslims were the four recognised groups. But as usually happens, the intruding religion came to terms with its predecessor, absorbing much of its teaching and practice, notably its intense stress on ceremonial purification. Thereby Persian Islam isolated itself, and

to-day the Shi'ah sect is widely apart from the mass of Muhammad's followers; organised largely in dervish orders, and with a mystic theology. Very few Persians hold fast to the old national religion in its purity, nine thousand living in an obscure part of the land; the ancient customs of the Parsees only attract attention from the visitor to Bombay, who is requested not to misuse fire by smoking on the street cars, and who sees the vultures hang around the Towers of Silence.

Far other was the destiny of Persian Christianity. When the hour came that proved so fateful to the ancient Persian faith, Christianity awoke again to the consciousness of its missionary calling. To persuade the conquerors was forbidden, but the armies of Islam had spent their strength in the attack on Persia, and, except for one feeble wave that broke on Sindh, the Arabs went no farther. It was at this time that the Persian Church sent forth great missions to India and to China, and renewed its youth like the eagle. Wonderfully does God repeat Himself! When Israel was held in captivity by Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon, Jehovah sent Cyrus to smite down that empire and set free His people; it proved a revival of religion for them elsewhere even while it established the faith of Zoroaster on the spot. Now that the Zoroastrians held down the Christian Church in bondage, and in sloth also, God raised up a new deliverer, as hard to recognise for God's servant as Cyrus had been, and the Caliph Omar set the Christians free to go forth with the Message of salvation to the greater empires Eastward. And what a rebuke is here for the

timorous ! Many to-day would argue that after centuries of persecution the Church was enfeebled, and that this respite gave them now a call to Home Missions, to rebuild the walls and repair the breaches ; this is exactly what the English Nonconformists did in 1689 A.D., and the selfish, narrow policy led to dry rot and all but death. Such freedom is a call to strengthen the stakes and lengthen the cords, to go forth and extend.

Nor was the foreign enterprise allowed to mask indifference to home duties. When the ignorance of the Arabs had been long in contact with the civilisation of Persia, and when Arab chivalry was fading away so that the Turks were the chief warriors, then Aaron the Just and his children at Baghdad showed themselves desirous of learning, and sent out commissions to procure all manner of literature, Armenian, Syrian, Egyptian, and Greek, and to render it into Arabic. At once the Christians came to the front as interpreters and scholars, and to them is due the speedy outburst of culture in the caliph's realm. Naturally they did not ignore their own Scriptures at this crisis, and soon the Psalms, Gospels, Acts, and Epistles were current in Arabic, which, as the court tongue, had spread throughout the dominions of the Arabs. Indeed, Al Kindy even ventured to put out an Apology for the Christian Faith. Unhappily the Persian Christians for the second time missed their opportunity, and retained the Syriac Bible for public use ; and by the time that the modern Persian tongue had evolved, the Syriac was so entrenched in the affections of the clergy that a Persian

version made no headway. This neglect is the more mortifying when we know that the Jews had rendered their Law into the vernacular before 500 A.D., and had translated the whole Old Testament by 1300 A.D. at latest. We do not know that even the Gospels were put into Persian till 1341 A.D., when a Jewish convert saw the need ; and it will presently appear that the tide of success was then ebbing, and Christianity was near its extinction in Persia.

Yet the Church had not failed to exercise an influence on Islam around it. While Christians might not on peril of death seek to win converts direct, a command occasionally violated with honour and success, yet all the development of Islam at Damascus and Baghdad was in a Christian atmosphere. The very conception of the right of Œcumenical Councils to determine doctrine with authority passed over to Islam, and gave force to the Agreement of the early Companions, and of the recognised Expositors of the Muslim Law. Then, whereas Islam retained crude animal sacrifices only at Mecca itself on pilgrimage, yet the doctrine of a vicarious sacrifice making atonement for sin has been taken up by Persian Muhammadans. But our subject is not the development of Christianity in its homes, but its extension by pioneers ; and we follow the Persian missionaries next to India.

3. INDIA, SOUTH AND NORTH

Hidden in a trackless and primeval wood,
Long-buried temples of an unknown race,
And one colossal idol ; on its face
A changeless sneer, blighting the solitude.

LEWIS MORRIS.

The south-western coasts of Asia had received the Gospel in the days of Thomas, as we have seen. Unhappily we are not able to trace its development regularly. After the visit of Pantænus from Alexandria, we hear of a Socotran who was converted and sent as a missionary to the Arabian coast and Abyssinia. Then in 522 A.D. an Egyptian Nestorian travelling these seas to gather facts, and to prove that the earth was flat and not globular, found Persian Christians settled round the coasts of South India and Ceylon, and discovered that in doctrine he was largely akin to them.

But when the caliphs ruled on the Tigris a large emigration took place, so important that the Persian settlers obtained a charter of self-government from the local king in the south-west of India. And when about 822 A.D. this was reinforced by a second large company, not only was a new charter granted, but presently the king himself became Christian. Such a conversion often leads to important results, but the dynasty died out, and a neighbouring ruler asserted his overlordship and checked wholesale conversion. The immigrants intermarried with the natives, and the Christian community grew steadily. Monuments

still exist on which may be seen Persian crosses with inscriptions in Syriac and Pahlavi. For unfortunately there are no traces that the Scriptures were ever rendered into Tamil; this was not attempted till the Dutch began it in Ceylon about 1688 A.D., and when the Germans took it up on the mainland they received apparently no help from this ancient Church, for their vernacular had now diverged from that of the Eastern coast. Nor was it till 1811 A.D. that, at the suggestion of an Englishman, they rendered the Gospels into Malay.

While, however, the Persian missionaries thus neglected one obvious duty, they strove to unite the advantages of a native church with filial submission to the motherland. Their archbishop was always a Persian, while their deacons, priests, and bishops were all local men; and not only were they all married according to New Testament prescription and Persian wont, but the bishopric was hereditary, as was the custom of the district, in singular harmony with what we observed in Armenia.

Nor was India influenced in the south alone. The valley of the Ganges is the most productive in population and in thought of all the peninsula, and perhaps of all the world. Here Buddhism had been known for a millennium, had been the established religion for eight centuries, and had been propagated by a missionary king over all India, Burma, and Ceylon. Let us try and realise the religious history of the peoples there, to whom Christianity was about to be offered.

When first we get a glimpse of them and their cults,

it is in the orders of later reformers as to what was to be opposed. From them we read of palmistry, auguries, ghost-laying, astrology, mediums ; of worship of the goddess of luck, of kings, of serpents. Among these aborigines in the Panjab, and later in the upper valley of the Ganges, came a slender body of Arians with a faith faintly akin to that of Zoroaster. Proudly they held aloof from the dark-skinned natives, and sought to preserve their loftier religion ; but as they intermarried, the coarser beliefs of their wives tainted their children, while the natives paid even less attention to the gods of their conquerors than the modern natives do to the religion of their present rulers.

About the time when Haggai and Zechariah were by leave of Darius promoting the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, or possibly a little earlier, there arose a Nepalese noble with aspirations after better things. For a few years he sought help from ascetic practices, as was widely the custom ; but failing in that way he turned to contemplation, and thought out a wonderful pessimist philosophy. From the enlightenment that he believed he had gained he was styled the Buddha. Henceforth he set himself to combat sorrow by annihilating desire and cultivating purity and love. And at once he began itinerant preaching in the lower valley, and enlisted followers who came by hundreds and thousands. On the outer circle he laid five commands—to be chaste and temperate, not to kill or steal or lie. But an inner circle was formed of those who would take ten vows, pledging them

also to avoid garlands or perfumes, dancing or drama, money, rich food at nights, or aught but a mat to sleep on. Such devotees he enrolled with a pledge to be true to the Buddha, to the Doctrine, to the Order; they were tonsured and clad in a special gown. Thus arose the first monks.

About fifty years after Malachi, the monks organised into communities, with chapter meetings in which they made mutual confession of sin, when they chanted over the poems which recounted their Buddha's life and teaching. Then came the visit of Alexander, which opened communications between India and the West, leading to filtration of Buddhist thought and practices to the banks of the Nile and to the Anatolian plateau. Soon after the Jewish Law was translated into Greek at Alexandria there arose a great king, Asoka, who subdued all India and Ceylon, and presently adopted Buddhism as his court religion. At his capital of Patna the monks gathered in council, and from their deliberations emerged the Canon of Buddhist Scriptures, now for the first time committed to writing, as far as we can tell. Asoka proceeded to build temples for his State Religion, notably at the spot where the Buddha received enlightenment, Bodh Gaya. But more than this, he was a missionary king, a combination such as rarely appears. Six bodies of monks did he dispatch—to the Indus, Peshawar, Kashmir, Burma, Ceylon, and South India. And he established two departments of state—one to superintend public religion, the other to propagate it in foreign parts.

But his empire crumbled, and Tatar invaders came in through the north-west, who established their own rule. On the one hand, this opened the way for Buddhism to raise them, and to go back along their track till it reached China; but on the other, it facilitated the rise of a set of scholars who promptly offered themselves as interpreters, and set to work to undermine Buddhism and exalt themselves. This was the easier as the Tatars, in accepting Buddhism, debased it. And so these scholars, who inherited and exaggerated the claims of the Brāhman priests to the earlier invaders, saw that they must stoop to conquer. They gathered up all the popular legends not utilised by Buddhists, and wove them into a Great Epic, injecting their own sacerdotal theories and glorifying their own caste perpetually. And thus, when Buddhism in India was rotting away like the contemporary North-umbrian paganism, two claimants appeared with new religions: Kumarila, the Brāhman priest with his Indian sacerdotalism, and a mission band from Seleucia-Ctesiphon with Christianity.

Now, the Buddha had taken great pains to set out his ideal of what was Good Form—so we may translate the technical term. But he was wisely silent where he knew nothing—he had nothing to say on the question of God, and so he advocated no worship. In the course of centuries his followers have filled that gap by worshipping him, and, indeed, the earliest monuments were huge domes of brick-work built over relics from his funeral pyre.

The Brāhman priests were ready with an elastic pantheon, and could either introduce their Arian gods, or adopt some aboriginal deity, or exalt some popular hero; and so the Buddha was declared to be an incarnation of Vishnu, one of the gods coming to be most regarded. And on the other hand, they appropriated some Christian elements. The Great Epic has plenty to say about a sly hero named Krishna; the similarity of name may have prompted the transference to him of many stories about the birth of Christ—a virgin-wife going to pay taxes, birth in a stable, adoration of the wise men, massacre of the innocents, miracles wrought in infancy, etc. Then Krishna thus decked out is declared to be another incarnation of Vishnu (a stroke to conciliate the Arians), and this Krishna-Vishnu is associated with a shadowy Brāhma and a bloody Shiva into a triad of gods. With these amazing loans from Christianity the Brāhmans felt ready to inoculate the people, and to defy the purer and stronger religion.

There was a time when the pretensions of the Brāhman priests had been absurd, and when the Buddha could found a movement that made no room at all for priests, largely because it was altogether silent about God. But for belief either in thirty-three or in thirty-three million gods, priests become almost a necessity to prescribe the due ritual and to mediate effectively. So the Brāhmans now came forward with theories that they had long incubated, closed up their ranks, and declared themselves an hereditary and indispensable priesthood. Provided

they could be acknowledged as leaders of society, entitled to respect and to huge fees, nay, even to be worshipped as Divine, then there was nothing they could not absorb, no doctrine, no worship, no god, no conduct however vile.

Christians have certainly stooped again and again, have borrowed much from the strong local religions ; but they have never been willing to go these lengths. So the Christian mission failed to plant the pure faith on the Ganges. But if it failed as a whole, it seems to have produced one remarkable development which may be traced in the Divine Song, inserted presently in the Great Epic. A whole literature has grown up about a new doctrine taught here for the first time ; and from an official text-book Dr. Grierson quotes the following compressed but literal translation :

“ *Bhakti* means faith, in the sense of absolute devotion to a personal God. It is defined as ‘an affection fixed upon the Lord.’ It is not belief. Those who hate the Lord may believe, but they have not faith. It may be present in outward acts of worship, but they are not of themselves faith. It must be devoted to a person, not to have a system of doctrine. It is ‘abiding’ in Him. It may not be devotion for some spiritual gain, for it must be purely unselfish. ‘Works’ are not faith, nor can they be united with faith unless they are pure, that is, surrendered to Him as the One who inspired the believer to perform the work. Works not so surrendered partake of the nature of sin, and are but bondage. Faith must be directed to the Supreme, or to one of His incarnations.

He alone is free from taint of earth, and hence He alone is purely unselfish. He became incarnate, and descended from His high estate unselfishly and solely to abolish others' woes. We know faith by its fruits. Such are respect and honour paid to the Lord, celebration of His praise, continuing to live for His sake, considering everything as His, regarding Him as being in all things, resignation to His will, sorrow for sin, absence of anger, envy, greed, and impure thoughts."

Thus far, then, Christianity leavened the popular religion, outwardly with the tales of Christ's infancy distorted and naturalised, but inwardly with the great doctrine of Faith which works by Love, a faith directed to God incarnate as Saviour, and evincing itself in renewed life. Next, we may trace another stream of influence which came from the Tamil Church of the South, whose progress we could note step by step and century by century, but can now mention here only the crises.

It was in the twelfth century, when in Western lands the Second Crusade was afoot, and in the Baltic the isles were being conquered for Christ, that a heathen priest of South India named Rāmānuja found his way to the North with a new doctrine. By this time the old Northern language in which the Buddhist literature was written had given way to Hindi, while the Brāhman priests had evolved an artificial tongue called Sanskrit, which always has remained the property of a narrow educated circle. By this time the Buddhists seem to have been absorbed into the Shiva sect, or to be just finding a new

opportunity by the contact of Islam with their stronghold on the lower Ganges. It seems very probable that the mass of Bengali Muslims are descended from the Buddhists, who found a double boon offered them—escape from the domineering of their age-long enemies, the Brāhman priests, and a satisfaction for the natural craving after a god, without the degrading and incredible tales now worked into the Great Epic.

Now the doctrine which Rāmānuja brought from the South was elaborated by a succession of disciples, of whom the most famous was Rāmānand, flourishing when the last tribes of Europe were accepting Christ, and when Wycliffe had just given a new light in England. At length, in the days of Shakespeare, there arose at Benares a Brāhman priest called Tulasī Dās, who became the Milton of the Hindus. Rāma, heir of the king of Oudh, was already the hero of a poem in the sacred Sanskrit; Tulasī Dās now wrote, not in an unknown tongue, but in the vernacular Hindi, another poem on the same theme. This book, almost contemporary with the English Genevan Bible, the first to win popular affection, is now practically the Bible of the Rāmaites, said to number a hundred millions. Strange to say, English scholars, misled by the Brāhman priests, have hardly made acquaintance with this work, which feeds the souls of the largest sect in India. And one who knows it well blames our missionaries for their ignorance that it teaches much Christian doctrine—doubtless intermixed with superstition, doubtless with the name of Rāma where we put the name of Christ,

but still doctrine essentially and historically Christian. Hear an exposition :

“ There is one God and Father of all who became incarnate in this sinful world as ‘ Rāma, the Redeemer of the world.’ God became incarnate as Rāma, not merely to slay a demon, but to save souls. Rāma lived on this world as a man, experiencing man’s purest happiness, man’s heaviest sorrows. He made friends with and received help from the very humblest beings, even from aborigines whose mere touch was defilement to the Brāhman-Pharisee, beings so degraded that birth-proud Aryans looked upon them as level with the monkeys of the forest. Rāma is now in heaven. He has not lost His personality ; so to speak, He has not disincarnated Himself, but is still Rāma, the loving, the compassionate, the sinless. Sin is hateful, not only because it condemns the sinner to future torment, but chiefly because it is incompatible with Rāma’s nature. Yet no one is too great a sinner for Rāma to save, if he will only come to Rāma. The sinner must confess his sin, and in all good faith must throw himself naked of all good works before Rāma, and Rāma will stretch out His hand to save him, as He has done to countless others before. Rāma has been a man, and knows what man’s sins and sorrows are. The sorrows He knows by having sorrowed, the sins He knows by His ineffable compassion alone, for He has never sinned Himself. Rāma is the loving Father of every human being ; and we, His children, are therefore brothers, and must love each other as brothers, just as

we love Him as a father. Faith, devotion, directed to Rāma, is all that is necessary for salvation, and salvation is a life of pure bliss with Him after death. Faith in His name is a little boat; the Holy Master Himself is the steersman; stretching out His loving arms He crieth, 'Come, I will ferry thee across.' Now, all this," adds Dr. Grierson, "if we substituted the name of our Lord for that of Rāma, is the teaching of Christianity, and has been borrowed from it. It has come down through many generations of Hindu thought, and it is astonishing that it has been preserved with such fidelity."

Thus the middle-class worshippers of Krishna have learned from Christianity the great doctrine of Faith in an incarnate Saviour; the thoughtful worshippers of Rāma have added the Fatherhood of God, who so loved the world that He sent His Son to redeem the world, a second doctrine derived directly from Christian teaching but thought out and expressed in Hindu form. Now advance and observe that even the lowly Shivaïtes have one sect which, in immediate contact with the Tamil Christians, has thrown off all but pure deism, and, without abandoning the name of the native god, has at least purified the conception of Him. Here is one of their hymns :

"How many various flowers,
Did I, in bygone hours,
Cull for the gods, and in their honour strew!
In vain how many a prayer
I breathed into the air,
And made, with many forms, obeisance due.

“Beating my breast, aloud
How oft I called the crowd
To drag the village car ! How oft I strayed
In manhood’s prime to lave
Sunwards the flowing wave,
And, circling Shiva fanes, my homage paid !

“But they, the truly wise,
Who know and realise
Where dwells the Shepherd of the worlds, will ne’er,
To any visible shrine
As if it were Divine,
Deign to raise hands of worship or of prayer.”

Reviewing, then, the movement of thought, and the development of religions in India, we see that three great influences have been brought to bear on it, irrespective of Islam : the agnostic morality of the Buddha, Turanian ; the polytheistic teaching of the Vedas, Arian ; the Trinitarian Gospel of the Christ, Semitic.

The Buddha’s message, lofty as it was, had two radical defects : it had no word about God, it had no gospel for women. The Brāhman’s message had all too many gods, but had no morality worth speaking of, while to women it said that their religion was to serve their husbands, and to die on their funeral pyres if worthy. The Buddha’s message has been utterly rejected by his own people, a warning for those who think that a pure morality can maintain itself apart from roots in the Divine. The Brāhmans have won a double victory : they have exalted themselves into a sacerdotal caste indispensable to all worship and ranking highest in the social scale ; they have

extended their power from the upper Ganges over the whole land. But they have done this at the cost of abandoning nearly all their ancestral religion except a few names, and of adopting and sanctioning whatever the people wanted.

Christianity has technically failed, for her adherents number not six hundred thousand, apart from the converts of European missionaries during the last century. But in reality she has impressed some of her cardinal doctrines on each of the three great Hindu sects, and her leaven has worked chiefly among the Rāmaites, most numerous and most thoughtful. There are Christian doctrines, intertwined doubtless with superstition, but stated in language understood of the people, fashioned into native forms by the people, and enshrined in books better known to the farmers and labourers of North India than is the Bible to the Western man of business.

Surely this is something to recognise and to appreciate. The modern missionary from the West will be almost culpable if he fails to acquaint himself with this work accomplished, and if he acts as though his Græco-Roman-Teuton form of Christianity must needs be transplanted in India. Two great problems demand earnest attention. First, how to use or destroy the sacerdotal influence of the Brāhman. It may be used, for while we know sacerdotalism to be absolutely incompatible with pure Christianity, we have seen Martin Luther, Huldreich Zwingli, Menno Simons, John Knox, themselves priests, smite down priestcraft. And what Rāmānand and Rāmānuja

and Tulasī Dās have begun, may yet be accomplished by a new reforming Brāhman, imbued with the Spirit of Christ. The second problem is how to smelt out the abundant dross of idolatry and superstition, and leave the pure gold already introduced by Christians. If we are ready to recognise the hand of God in accomplished facts, we may note the presence of Islam with its horror of idolatry, and ask what part God assigns to it in the religious future of India. And then we see with joy one great advantage which Christianity has, sharing it with none other ; that it has a message for women, and can make the name and the lot of widows as honourable as it is now miserable.

4. CHINA, BUDDHIST AND CONFUCIAN

Why has the drought been sent upon my land ?
 No cause for it know I. Full early rose
 My prayers for a good year ; not late was I
 In offering sacrifice unto the Lords
 Of the four quarters and the land.
 In the high heaven God listens not. And yet
 Surely a reverent man as I have been
 To all intelligent spirits should not be
 The victim of their overwhelming wrath.

CHINESE BOOK OF ODES.

The Persian mission to India has therefore left deep traces ; but far other was the fate of that dispatched more to the North. Here was another great empire, with two religions well established on the usual foundation of superstition. The purely native cult was that of Confu-

cius, which had endured some eleven centuries. This philosopher had, like the Buddha, drawn up a code of behaviour showing how to comport oneself in the family, the state, the inner life ; and again like the Buddha, he offered no advice on how to behave towards God, nor had he anything to say about a future life or salvation. However suitable was this system for rulers, who found a sort of unconditional submission to authority inculcated, it left the field open for religion properly so called, a revelation of God, and opportunity to hold intercourse with Him.

And so, about the time when James, Paul, and Peter were ending their careers, a State Commission was sent in search of a religion, and especially to investigate Buddhism. It returned with a sandalwood statue of the Buddha, and with forty-two books, which were soon translated. Now these books represented a modification of the original doctrine, somewhat under the influence of the Brāhman priests. The emphasis was shifted from self-culture, and it was declared that the character of a great man could be transmitted to another incarnation able not only to save himself, but also to save others. This, of course, led easily to the worship of the historic Buddha himself, though it was only later, and in India, that he was identified as an incarnation of Vishnu.

Thus China was provided with a doctrine about the future, a god, a saviour, and with an organised monasticism, all of which could be amalgamated with the Confucian code of behaviour. A native at once raised an

opposition religion, establishing himself as a kind of permanent head, and pandering to low superstition, even preparing a pill for immortality. On the one hand, he laid hold of a philosophy coeval with Confucius; on the other, he borrowed freely from Buddhism, and so founded what to-day is known as Taoism.

Buddhism, however, at first grew better in the fertile Chinese soil, and in a way very different from its founder's expectations, or from its development in Ceylon. And when England was still a welter of barbarous and cruel pagans, all China was united into one empire whose ruler favoured Buddhism. We hear of thirty thousand monasteries with hundreds of thousands of monks, besides, of course, far more adherents who never took the vows. But in the next generation a new dynasty withdrew its patronage, and within a few years the Christian mission band had reached the capital, then Si-Ngan-Fu, finding a splendid opportunity for propagation at the very centre of power. They were not indeed pioneers, for as early as 500 A.D., Persian monks had reached China, and had taken back the secret of silk-culture, even to Europe; but it needed the calamity of Islam to send forth this party under Olopun, fired with missionary zeal.

Sacred books were in the baggage of the party; and with a true instinct that this was a literary people, one of the earliest tasks was to prepare a Chinese Bible. The emperor was willing to issue an edict of toleration, and soon built a church on the public square, after which the way was open for steady propagation. Sixty years later

arrived a Zoroastrian embassy with its sacred books, on which the dowager-empress smiled, but presently Christian monasteries were sanctioned. Fresh helpers arrived from Herat and Persia, and when Charles the Great was conquering the Saxons, one of these named Adam, the Vicar-episcopal and Pope of China, erected a monument detailing the progress of the work, and commemorating not only the lord John Joshua, the universal patriarch away in Persia, but many also of his own helpers in China, whose names all appear, not in Chinese or Persian or Arabic, but in the antique Syriac which continued to be their ecclesiastical tongue. More interesting is it to read in Chinese the names of sixty Chinese priests, for these show that, though the movement was still affiliated with the Persian Church, it had now struck root in native soil.

Unhappily the love of dominion inherent in all men checked the indigenous movement. Confucians had no Church, and could have no head of a Church. The Christians of China all looked to the Patriarch of Babylon as their Supreme Head on earth, and thereby they were certain to arouse against them national feeling. The occasion came when a native dynasty revived Confucianism and established it as a State Religion, and if the Tatars of the North favoured Buddhism in its idolatrous forms, the Christians had not the courage to throw themselves purely on the Chinese.

Indeed, when Wu-Tsung ordered the destruction of all the Buddhist monasteries and the return of all their inmates to civil life, in 845 A.D., he also ordered all foreign

missionaries whatever, of every religion, to cease work. And an Arabian monk sent about 980 A.D. with five others to organise the Church better, returned in dismay to say that there were no Christians left to organise.

When the next effort was made in this direction it was in connection with the Mongols. This people from Central Asia broke Eastward over the Great Wall into China ; Southward into Persia, where they became overlords of the Christian Patriarch of Babylon at Baghdad, and where they broke the dominion of the Muslims ; Westward into Russia, Moravia, and Hungary, till it seemed as if the whole civilised world would be submerged by a wave of barbarism. Such a unifying of the Western world in the days of Paul had given a splendid opportunity for the Christianising of the whole Roman Empire, and now the Persians saw their opportunity to do the same for the whole of the great East. Their missionaries were sent throughout the Tatar dominions, and so it came to pass that the thirteenth century saw their work at its zenith. Indeed, it was also introduced to the knowledge of the West, so long isolated from Asiatic Christianity, so that at least eight Frenchmen and Italians visited the East between 1245 A.D. and 1338 A.D., leaving some account of what they saw ; and our own Roger Bacon recorded much that they told him.

We hear of Christian priests at the Tatar camps, with tent chapels ; of services conducted in Turkish, Arabic, and Syriac ; of the chief men won for Christ, and even of some of the princes being baptized and trained in the

faith. We hear of a vigorous mission to the Uigur Tatars, taking an alphabet, reducing the language to writing, and apparently rendering some parts of the Bible into their tongue. We know this was crowned with success by a Kerait prince adhering to Christianity, whose fame reached Europe as Prester John. We hear of handsome stone churches in which worshipped the chief officers of the court; and in those days, when one power stretched from the Pacific to the Danube, it hardly surprises us to hear of an Englishman at Karakoram or Pekin. But it is surprising to hear that in 1250 A.D. not one tenth of the Turks were Muslim, most being Christian. It was but a little earlier that an Englishman was chosen Patriarch of the Latin Church of Peter, and was enthroned beside the Tiber; he presided over fewer Christians than those who looked up to the head of the Asiatic Church of Thomas. Even in China itself there were again bishops at most of the provincial capitals, and a governor was found to devote much of his wealth to the furtherance of Christianity.

If these details come from Europeans, hear an Asiatic tell his own story, written in 1330 A.D., and perhaps not even yet accessible in our language. Two Tatars, called Mark and Bar-Suma, sons of Church dignitaries at Pekin and another great Chinese city, became monks, and after some years decided to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The Tatar emperor therefore appointed them his ambassadors to the European rulers. They reached the head waters of the Euphrates, and paid their respects to the Patriarch, who had recently removed thither from

Baghdad. He consecrated Mark as Metropolitan of Cathay, the other as Visitor-General. Wars in the neighbourhood prevented their farther progress, and they went into hermitages for two years. On the death of the Patriarch, the clergy thought it a clear sign of God's will that now they were under Tatar rule, a Tatar Christian high in favour with the Tatar emperor should be at hand, and they chose Mark to be Patriarch of the whole Asiatic Church. The local Tatar viceroy installed him, and he was enthroned in 1281 A.D., by twenty-four bishops, obtaining a royal grant of thirty thousand dinars yearly to build new churches.

The next Tatar viceroy on the Euphrates was an apostate from Christianity, but his career was short. His successor was distinctly favourable, and proposed to ally with the kings of western Europe to crush Islam, so he appointed Bar-Suma as his ambassador. The accounts of Constantinople and Rome, the intrigues which he witnessed actually in the conclave at the election of a Pope, his interviews with King Louis at Paris, and with our own king, Edward I., are most singular reading for us. And this journey may remind us that Edward really was a crusader, and did attack the Muslims in Palestine. But the great scheme miscarried; and after a civil war among the Tatars, the Muslims obtained the ascendancy and vowed to exterminate Christianity at its very headquarters in Asia. They did destroy the great cathedrals: they captured the Patriarch and hung him upside down; and though the Tatar king rescued him,

he felt it politic to allow his more turbulent subjects, the Muslims, to do nearly what they liked. So the closing years of the Patriarch were saddened by constant tales of massacre and destruction, not compensated by the recollection that in his thirty-six years of office he had consecrated seventy-five metropolitans and bishops.

The story of his life reveals one fatal weakness about the Asiatic Church ; it persistently adhered to the use of the Syriac tongue, which as a spoken language was obsolete except just where Tigris and Euphrates took their rise. This Tatar of Pekin was baptized not by any Tatar name, but as Mark ; and when enthroned as Patriarch even that name was not judged Syriac enough, so that he was styled Yabh-Alaha. And hence the Church appeared everywhere as a foreign institution, instead of naturalising itself in every land. We may not blame them with a clear conscience, for still there are pious missionary patriots who teach Marathi children to sing the hymns of Ray Palmer in English to the accompaniment of an American organ ; but the sequel in China warns that this course courts disaster. The Chinese have always been intensely patriotic, and at this very time were sensitive about their language and their writing ; when even the Muslims proposed to use a modified Syriac alphabet, they declined to abandon their complicated syllabary in its favour.

And now there appeared two enemies to the Asiatic Church in China. From the Far West came a Flemish

monk who was amazed at finding Christians caring nothing for the chair of Peter, and venerating the throne of Thomas. He set himself to scan their doings with hostile eyes, and at once noted this foreign trait—indeed, exaggerated it to say that all the clergy chanted in a tongue they did not comprehend. Strange to say, he did not ask whether the Latin of western Europe was understood by all the French, Dutch, English, and Scandinavian clergy ; but his criticism was just.

Then arose a new emperor who invited to court representatives of all the leading religions, that he might select one for his patronage. At first he asked them alternately to bless his food ; but the Europeans saw fit to urge the claims of their Italian Pope, and also to depreciate the ancient Christianity of the country. Certainly they were expelled, but the tide was turning. One Mongol emperor suppressed the bureau of religions, another suppressed several dioceses, and after 1368 A.D. the curtain falls on a vanishing cause. For the Christians had thrown in their lot too closely with the Mongol dynasty, hated by the Chinese. And when a successful revolt drove out the tyrants, it brought to the throne an ex-priest, who naturally showed Christians no favour.

Was, then, the long effort in China fruitless ? was the failure as complete as in India ? Yes, and with the same qualified gain. For if a native Church surviving from the fourteenth century is vainly sought, there has been a strange transformation and purifying of a native cult. Modern Taoism, says Dr. Timothy Richard, is not the

ancient ; and all the novel features are distinctly due to Christian influence ! How this came to pass has not been adequately explored, and it is only a conjecture of the Baptist scholar that is set forth in the Shanghai Handbook of Missions. But we should indeed marvel if a Church so deeply rooted throughout the empire had been utterly extirpated ; and when modern observers call our attention to its traces in a rejuvenated Taoism, we ought to ask whether here is an ancient foundation fit to bear a modern superstructure, and to save some trouble in beginning afresh.

If the Chinese expelled Christianity with the Mongols, we might at least hope that the Mongols in Mongolia would retain and extend it. But those were the days of Timur, who from his capital of Samarcand ravaged impartially in all directions, destroying whole cities and raising grisly pyramids with thousands of skulls. So far as he had a preference for any religion, it was Islam ; but this did not hinder him from destroying Baghdad, and massacring every one of its eight hundred thousand inhabitants. This was also the centre of Asiatic Christianity ; the blow to our cause was as if in Europe Rome was laid waste, Pope and cardinals all slain, while every other town of importance had suffered in like fashion. When Timur passed away in 1405 A.D., Persian Christianity was extinct as a vital force, although in the extreme north-west around the town of Urumiah, supposed to be the birthplace of Zoroaster, still cluster a few thousand adherents of the once great Patriarch of Babylon. Two strange legacies

his Church has left in outward things : its hierarchical organisation and its ritual. Whether or no the Taoists inherit these, it is certain that they were imitated by the Northern Buddhists, and were introduced with Chinese exactitude into Tibet, to puzzle European visitors at a later date.

Thus rose and fell Asiatic Christianity. When Francis Xavier passed Socotra he found it dying there, and its mummy was yet seen in 1650 A.D. by Vincenzo the Carmelite. The antiquary may still behold a fossilised Church in South India. But speaking broadly, there has been a fourfold failure. Christianity measured itself against four older religions, of which one never yielded to persuasion, and three yet survive in dogged strength. Confucians, Buddhists, Jews, hold in calm superiority to their sacred books, older than the Christian, and in Oriental disdain announce that we have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. What pleasure is it for us to point out that the Confucian is not content with his own system, that the Buddhist has borrowed a Christian hierarchy, that the ancient books of the Brāhman are neglected for legends and doctrines tinctured with Christianity ? The Buddhist smilingly rejoins that Gotama has been canonised as a Christian saint ; the Brāhman disdainfully points to the Indian beast-fables, which were tagged with good morals and became more popular in Europe during the Middle Ages than the Bible itself ; and the Jew strikes in with the reminder that his Scriptures have been appropriated

wholesale by us. Broadly, the Message has been rejected throughout Asia : and if it is to be accepted now, it is in face of the added difficulty that it comes afresh with the stamp of Europe upon the gold mined in Asia ; that it comes with the stigma of repeated defeat, not with the prestige of victory.

If we try to account for this huge failure, we can observe that in every case there was a strong, reasoned, organised opposition, which the missionaries do not seem to have taken into account : a Paul would have done his best to appreciate the strong points of each faith, and the weakness ; he would have adapted his Gospel to the needs of each people. Then we may note the want of organisation in two respects : in supplying missionaries, in conducting the campaign. The Christian Church was essentially missionary ; Christ gave at least half His energy to the preparation of missionaries for their work ; and His latest words emphasised their supreme duty. But despite all that was done at Edessa and Nisibis, we cannot trace any systematic attempt to maintain a missionary seminary, to prepare men for the foreign field, to collect the lessons from success or failure. Nor do we see any clear tokens of missionary strategy. Paul aimed for the leading towns, and planted in each a strong church, even though it took him two or three years to establish a centre of influence. He preached before governors and kings : what a converted king can do for the cause we have seen in Armenia and elsewhere ; what a missionary king did for Buddhism was to spread it from a tiny principality over half a

continent. And above all, few learned the Pauline lesson, to be all things to all men. In Syria this was indeed done, and Syriac Christianity is the only type that survives in Asia; but Syriac Christianity never became really Persian or Indian or Chinese; to the Hindu the missionary could not become a Hindu, and he won practically no Hindus.

If the failure of the past is to be retrieved in these lands, the historic faith must be stripped of much of its Western accretions. Not the gorgeous ceremonial of Rome with the creed of Pope Pius IV.; not the XXXIX. Articles and the Canons of 1603 and the Prayer-book of Charles II.; not the Westminster Confession and Catechisms; not John Wesley's Sermons and the discipline of Methodism; but only the New Testament in all its God-given simplicity must be presented, that it may be read afresh as the Oriental may be guided by the Spirit of God, and not by the Occidental. Our schemes of government are not his, and there may be methods of Church management that are both familiar to him and in accord with the mind of Christ. And above all, the pure morality of Christ, as distinct from the practice of Western Christians, will receive a ready welcome from the students of what the Buddha or Confucius taught. Only whereas they centred attention on behaviour, on the salvation of self, Christ points the sinner, heart-broken by failure, to God, the loving Father and Saviour, and bids us spend ourselves in the service of others.

If we should plead our hearts' consuming pain
At sight of ruined altars, prophets slain,
And God's own ark with blood of souls defiled :
He on the rock may bid us stand, and see
The outskirts of His march of mystery,
His endless warfare with man's wilful heart.

Go, to the world return, nor fear to cast
Thy bread upon the waters, sure at last
In joy to find it after many days.
The work be thine, the fruit thy children's part :
Choose to believe, not see ; sight tempts the heart
From sober walking in true Gospel ways.

KEBLE.

II

SUCCESS IN EUROPE

I am debtor both to Greeks and to Barbarians.
I am ready to preach the Gospel to you also that are in Rome.
I have finished the course.

PAUL.

II

Success in Europe

THE story of Christianity in Asia is one to sadden every Christian, for five hundred years ago it showed complete failure; whereas in Europe until the same period we have to study success, hardly broken, and finally complete. In Asia there were great organised religions to encounter, which with modifications remain victorious; in Europe there was no religion with any vitality in it, and though certain relics remain, they are chiefly in customs whose origin is forgotten by those who practise them, and which do not distract from the Saviour. In Asia the peoples who have proved so tenacious of their ancient faiths were mainly Turanian, with a few Arians and Semites in the south-west; in Europe the impressionable peoples who adopted Christianity were mainly Arians, with a few outlying Turanians.

The story of Christianity in Europe is well known, at least in its early stages, and is probably more interesting than its fate in Asia; but the missionary problems it presents have seldom been disengaged and studied. The matters that fill many histories are the conquest of the Roman Empire, the evolution of a system of Greek thought,

the erection of a Latin governmental hierarchy, the elaboration of a pagan-Jewish sacerdotal cult ; only a few, like Dobschütz, realise that even in organised Christianity the main thing is the quality of the Christian life. Our theme, however, is different ; we are concerned not with the development of Christianity in any one land, but with the story of its frontier line, wherever that went. And in noting the spread of Christianity over Europe we shall meet such problems as the tactics adopted toward heathen customs, opposition or assimilation ; the methods of persuasion or force ; the organisation of the missionary army.

To Europe, as we understand the term, is to be added for our purpose the Anatolian peninsula. So thoroughly was this Hellenised before the Christian era that it has generally since been bound up with Europe, and the holder of Constantinople has often ruled on either side of the Bosphorus.

We can group the facts, numerous as they are, into three sections :—

1. The Greek world, and the contact with philosophy.
2. The Roman world, and the contact with order and officialism.
3. The uncivilised tribes : Keltic, Teutonic, and Slavonic.

When a word is added as to stemming the Muslim invasion in Spain, Hungary, and Russia, we come to 1500 A.D., when practically the whole of Europe was covered with nominal Christians.

1. THE GREEK WORLD : CONTACT WITH PHILOSOPHY

'Twas the hour when One in Sion
Hung for love's sake on a cross—
When His brow was chill with dying,
And His soul was faint with loss ;
When His priestly blood dropped downward,
And His kingly eyes looked throneward—
Then, Pan was dead.

By the love He stood alone in,
His sole Godhead stood complete ;
And the false gods fell down moaning,
Each from off his golden seat,—
All the false gods with a cry
Rendered up their deity—
Pan, Pan was dead.

E. B. BROWNING.

Palestine was a bilingual country, where the Aramaic of the East met the Greek of the West, and where the official Latin claimed, but hardly obtained, a place. Similarly, round Delhi to-day the Hindi of the native and the Urdu of the Muslim contend, while English demands official recognition. We have seen how in Aramaic guise the Gospel once spread over much of Asia, next comes for our attention the spread in Greek form over all the lands tinctured with Hellenism, as far as Rome and Lyons.

The Jews had prepared the way to the West, as to the East. As slaves, as colonists, as merchants, they had settled in many leading towns of the Roman Empire, and wherever they went they gathered into little companies which met Sabbath by Sabbath. And whereas in

the East there was a reluctance to write down a version of the Scriptures, the Alexandrian Jews had broken down this conservatism, and Greek versions were in general use, not only of the canonical books, but of other religious literature. The early Christian writings, except for the original Aramaic Logia of Matthew, were all in Greek. The early missionaries were subjects of Rome, if not citizens, and, forgetting their Jewish origin, they showed themselves true patriots with imperial tendencies ; they set to work to evangelise their own empire.

In every synagogue there was room found for attentive hearers, just as we open our churches not to members only, but to all who choose to listen, especially if they are willing to contribute to the expense. So the earliest missionaries deliberately addressed themselves not only to the men of Israel, but also to those who feared God outside Israel. Again and again Paul attracted these Gentile well-wishers, swept them into his net, drew them out and established a new meeting in the same town. His proceedings naturally exasperated the Jews to the last degree ; but we must recollect that Paul's work among the Jews was quite a side issue—he was deliberately told to leave them alone and go to the Greeks. And in this task he showed the strategy of a statesman. In a score of years he had founded churches at Tarsus, Pisidian Antioch, Ephesus, Thessalonica, and Corinth, besides lesser towns ; and he had a great share in building up Churches at Antioch and Rome. Thus on the high roads to the capital he personally ensured that every provincial capital had a

Christian Church to kindle the province. Granted that as a Tarsian he naturally was drawn to Anatolia, yet it was full of promise that this great peninsula was so early occupied for Christ. Others followed up his work, and Ephesus became the metropolis of Christianity for one hundred and fifty years, and held its own till the Goths destroyed the city in 262 A.D. As for the Jewish Christians, they found their tradition snapped by the two great rebellions of 66 A.D. and 135 A.D., and the new religion passed promptly into a Greek phase, so far as the West was concerned.

The Greek Christians took over the Greek version of the Scriptures, and from their philosophical schools, as imitated by Philo the Jew, came the habit of allegorising whatever was not convenient to obey, while the Prophets were ransacked to discover foreshadowings of Jesus as the Christ. The result was that the Jews ceased to influence Hellenist thought; that the synagogues were deserted by Gentiles; and that every Greek in search of religion attached himself loosely to some Christian gathering.

The presentation of truth to such can be seen in the Book of Acts: God is One, deeply concerned in us and our conduct; He will send a Judge, who has already come as Saviour; this judge is Jesus, and the proof of His mission is the Resurrection. The good news was of salvation to body and soul, and the duty of every Church was made plain, to tend its own poor and sick, and to foster brotherly relations with every other Church. Enormous emphasis was thrown on decent life, and explicit teaching was given

as to vice and virtue, in some respects contradicting the current Greek ideal of ethics. On idolatry war was declared; and the attack long begun by philosophers was pushed home with the bluntest of speech as to the character of the Greek gods, moral and intellectual. Aristides even presented to the Emperor Antoninus Pius a sweeping indictment of them as adulterers and murderers and thieves, whose worship must demoralise their votaries.

The skirmish line of attack consisted of penniless missionaries, who deliberately travelled in order to preach. They supported themselves like Paul, or accepted support like Barnabas and Peter, but seldom stayed in one place once they had organised a community; they may be compared to the backwoodsmen of Virginia in the days of old Vincennes, of Boone and Rogers Clark, restless in a settled society, and eager to push back the frontier of civilisation. After the missionaries arose the teachers, resident and paid, in many respects like the professional heathen teachers: Justin, Tatian, Clement, and Origen are excellent examples. Behind them rose up the organising local officers, part of whose business was to see that the ordinary member did his share in propagating the Gospel. Paul urged every man to continue in his former occupation; for so he could exert the best influence, his changed life witnessing to his associates the new power that had entered him.

The organisation of the Greek converts deserves special attention. All Jewish precedent suggested that Jewish converts should form one great community, ruled from

Jerusalem ; and in the Jewish stage we do actually read of the Church in Judea and Galilee and Samaria. But Greeks organised by cities, and the Greek converts naturally did the same, taking over even the technical Greek word "Ecclesia." One city, one Church ; such was the Greek custom. And whereas Jews managed everything by one committee of elders, the Greeks soon differentiated the committee into two groups, and evolved a single head, on the lines of their civil life. Paul, however, knew the Greek tendency to disintegration and local independence, and set his face sternly against it. His letters to Corinth smartly rebuke this, and urge co-operation, consideration of others, submission to the general customs. Before long this worked out on the familiar political lines, and the Greek city churches conferred together in synods, as Augustus had taught the cities of a province to send their representatives for the yearly worship and business. And thus the pattern evolved by 360 A.D. is due to adopting for religious business the forms familiar in political business : local self-government on the municipal pattern, provincial co-operation on the federal pattern. The Greek Churches still hold to that pattern, for in every independent State is to be found an independent Church, as in Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, Roumania, Russia, etc. And the Anglican communion also adopts the same plan ; all the congregations in Scotland, all in America, all in Canada, all in Australia leaguings into local Churches, each technically complete, yet fraternising with the others. When we observe the general principle involved, that organisation

is to be on familiar lines, we see one reason why Westerners have made no wonderful progress in modern attempts to win Asiatics and Africans for Christ.

It was in this Greek phase that the question first arose as to the relation of the Churches to the missionaries. Paul himself found a decided disposition to question his authority, and Corinth seems to have flouted him at times. Then he tried the experiment of detaching aides-de-camp like Luke, Timothy, Tychicus, Titus, vested with his authority; and we find Ephesus declining to recognise the delegate, so that Timothy was recalled from the scene of his failure. A generation later Diotrophes brought matters to a crisis in one congregation, refused to give a hearing to the messengers of John, and expelled those who sympathised with them. In one aspect this was officialism resisting the spiritually gifted members; in another it was a self-contained Church refusing any status to missionaries, and sending them on to preach to the unconverted. Thus early emerged the question, which in the East was solved by withdrawal of the missionaries and the formation of national Churches; which Rome settled for awhile in the West by the claim to rule everywhere through her missionaries; which the Methodists settled by the missionaries appropriating all the power of any importance; which is arising again by the formation of a National Missionary Society of India, or the consolidation of the Japanese Churches without regard to the nationality of those who brought them the Gospel. The experience of revolts against Rome and Wesleyan Methodism seems to

prove the wisdom of the Greek settlement, and to show that the missionaries should watch for the signs of readiness in their converts to assume all responsibility, and then gradually transfer their energies to fresh fields.

The opposition to the missionary efforts was of various kinds, philosophical and political, but in the Greek world hardly religious. Greek religion was rotten, except in so far as there was a revival in the mysteries. These were strong, and the sacramental doctrine they taught was only overcome by being appropriated. Christians came to believe that the due performance of ceremonial was the channel of blessing ; that baptism actually washed away sin as surely as did the sea-bath of Eleusis ; that the Lord's Supper actually nourished the soul with Divine strength. There was another case of stooping to conquer, as the Brāhmans did with the Buddhists ; for Gregory Thaumaturgus debased his work by adopting the superstitions of Anatolia, and set a fashion which has been all too widely followed.

The philosophical opposition was long in maturing. Early Christians were ignored as beneath notice, but at last they were found to be a real force. Celsus drew attention to what is still a stumbling-block, the number of rival sects ; he urged that current Christianity was not the primitive teaching of Jesus, and asked what was essential—an inquiry that deserves much more serious consideration, especially by missionaries, than it has yet received ; not appreciating the importance of the promise that the Holy Spirit should guide the apostles

into all the truth, he went so far as to insinuate that they had adulterated the pure doctrine of the Christ. Seventy years elapsed before a reply was forthcoming from Origen, and in less than half that time the attack was renewed by Porphyry in an elaborate treatise. He charged that the Scriptures were misused, and that the doctrines of Creation, Judgement, and the Resurrection were untenable. Four Christians answered him, but the most effectual response was when Christians became dominant and destroyed his book. Nor did philosophy prove merely critical ; it was able to present a counter scheme, Neo-Platonism, which spiritualised the old natural religion, allegorised the myths, and orientalised the Greek polytheism into pantheism. This also was crushed rather than answered ; after the days when Church and State coalesced, the Alexandrians could murder Hypatia, but they could not refute her, for the bishop had suppressed the great teachers of an earlier age.

But first the State had measured itself with Christianity. As early as the days of Peter the principle was announced that Christianity was illegal ; but no general conflict arose till Decius gave the simple alternative, " Recant or die." Foreign affairs drew off the attention ; but Maximin Daza went farther next time, created an atmosphere unfavourable to Christianity in the schools, procured treatises against it, and condescended to copy the organisation, erecting a pagan hierarchy of priests. All failed, and Constantine saw the need of coming to terms with Greek Christianity ; he shifted his capital into the Greek pro-

vinces, and tried to patch up a peace between the halves of the largest sect, concentrating his persecution on the other sects. This step marks the acknowledged success of the mission among the Greeks ; and Harnack sums up that, even before Constantine set the State imprimatur on it, Christianity was the standard religion in Asia Minor and Thrace, and was of weight in Syria, Cyprus, and the Greek coast. He estimates that about eight hundred bishops could be mustered in the East.

What, then, was the reaction of the Greek world on Christianity ? For success has to be paid for, and the Greek Christianity that now held the field was another thing from the preaching of the Apostles.

The emphasis was shifted from conduct to creed, and the whole tone of the morality had sensibly declined. This had not come to pass without a struggle ; but the Montanists and Novatians, who upheld the old standard of living, found that Constantine did not think them worth patronising, and he continued to oppress them : so that the dominant sect was one from which all the purest elements had been filtered off. The average result may be guessed when we know that even the bishops at Nicæa charged one another with crimes which Constantine was politic enough to ignore. It is true that creed must underlie conduct ; but it must be a creed that commands the assent of the will as well as the intellect.

The Greeks were dialecticians, and they now threw themselves on the philosophy of the Person of Christ, just as their predecessors had attacked cosmology, and as their

intellectual heirs in Germany and elsewhere have rushed at the literary dissection of the Bible, in a spirit that has nothing Christian about it. Every council led to an exclusion or suppression of the minority, and though there were sects enough before Constantine, the next few centuries saw the rise of Arians and Nestorians and Eutychians and Monotheletes, further to split the Greek world. While the main body chose to define its position merely by contradicting all these, and while the formula of Chalcedon was dictated by and accepted in the Roman world, yet we must not forget that all this thought is cast into Greek moulds. We, it is true, have been trained on the ancient Greek classics, and therefore can appreciate and adopt these Greek Christian definitions; but the thought of Asia is not affected by Greek philosophy, and it may well be necessary that the great truths as to our Lord's Person must be fused afresh and assume quite other forms to be valued or even comprehended aright by Chinese or Hindus.

Again, Christianity became polytheistic; for such is the real meaning of saint-worship. This began with commemoration of the martyrs, hymns in their praise, the reading of the story of their martyrdom, an oration in their honour, and the old feast of the ancestors slightly transformed, sometimes even with dances and pantomimes to conclude with. Then came in speedily the practice of invoking the help of the saints. And before long it was hard to distinguish the crowd of saints, with God in their midst, from the former Greek pantheon, with Zeus

over all. As an instance of this Christianised paganism, take the worship of Demeter, the Latin Bona Dea, at Catania in Sicily. Twice yearly, at the Greater and Less Eleusinia, was her festival held. A horse-race was followed by a procession, when with torches and bells the statue of the goddess was escorted, her veil was shown, and her fertile breasts. To-day exactly the same ceremonial is enacted at the same time, in honour of Saint Agatha, whose name is simply the Greek version of Bona.

With polytheism naturally came idolatry. The bones of the martyrs and the wood of the true cross were revered everywhere. Then followed pictures of the saints, and although the Greeks did draw the line deliberately and emphatically at statues, yet Muhammad contemptuously brushed away the refinement, and termed them plainly idolaters.

Add to this the sacramentalism taken over from the Mysteries, and the sacerdotalism which, if defended from the Old Testament, was yet founded on and carried over from Greek ideas, and we see that the contribution of Hellenism to Western Christianity was indeed great.

For the missionary it is all important to recollect that these accretions are not essential to Christianity. To primitive Christianity they were unknown, if indeed not alien. To Asiatic Christianity they never found an entrance to any extent, a fact generally neglected by those who bid us study the actual development. Whatever may be said about progress among the Arians, it is needful to remind the workers among Semitic and

Turanian races that it is not their business to transplant the Arian shrub, but to plant the Gospel seed.

2. THE ROMAN WORLD : ORDER AND OFFICIALISM

I see better things and approve them ;
But I follow the worse.

HORATIUS FLACCUS.

He is here, whom seers in old time
Chanted of, while ages ran ;
Whom the faithful word of prophets
Promised ere the world began ;
Long foretold, at length appearing :
Praise Him, every child of man.

AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS.

Christianity reached Rome in the year of our Lord's Resurrection ; but it remained of the Greek type for many generations. Such a phenomenon is not without parallel to-day : the Irish may have an important society in New York, but it may conceivably take two centuries before this society can forget affairs in Old Ireland, will attend to its own business, falls under American control, and becomes thoroughly naturalised.

Even in Rome the Greek tendency to faction was most marked. When the tide was turning, about 200 A.D., we find the same state of things that was shown in Paul's letter to Rome—numberless little Churches and not one united body. We can identify a Montanist, a Theodotian, a Modalist, a Marcionite, several Gnostic Churches, besides the Greek Church presided over by Hippolytus, and the Latin Church under Victor. It is the same

spectacle that may be seen in many an American or British town to-day. But the Roman dynasty which began with Victor introduced a new state of affairs, and within fifty years an emperor declared he would as soon see another emperor beside him as a bishop at Rome, for members of the patrician Fabian and Cornelian families were now filling that post. Fifty years more and a disciplined clergy was ministering in forty public basilicas, with the whole city districted out, as if there were no laws against their very existence. In Church circles Roman order and officialism had triumphed, and the dissenters had all but vanished. It was the resurrection of the aristocratic republic, as against the monarchy and as against the democracy.

But how did Christianity spread itself outside the one city? Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Italy were the Latin provinces, besides Africa, which must be considered separately. Progress in Italy was slow and disappointing: the South was still Magna Græcia, and Hellenic Christianity held the field; the basin of the Po in the North also was evangelised from Greece, and in 300 A.D. there were no Christians in a town as large as Bologna; while Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia were for long more Greek than Latin. In Central Italy little is heard of the new religion; the historians of this century write as if outside Rome itself, Christianity was almost negligible in the West; and such prominent men as Ambrose, Augustine, Hilary, and Jerome were permeated with Greek thought rather than Latin. The intense concentration at Rome evidently weakened all effort in the neighbourhood, exactly as the attraction of London

kills all independent town life for forty miles around. As for the country districts, they were frankly abandoned ; the name "pagan" shows that they were beyond Christian effort. When Benedict of Nursia began his work after 500 A.D., he found idolatry still practised at Monte Cassino, not a hundred miles from Rome. Progress in the rural districts was both slow and deceptive. The result after a thousand years is depicted in these unflattering terms : "The Italian peasantry were a class apart from the burghers, as they were nowhere else. Their religion was usually a thinly veiled paganism, a belief in the omnipresence of spirits, good and bad, to be thanked, propitiated, coaxed, or compelled by use of charms, amulets, spells, and ceremonies. The gods of their pagan ancestors had been replaced by local saints, and received the same kind of worship." ¹

In Gaul, again, the progress was slow. Irenæus wrote in Greek, but preached in Keltic, which suggests that among the Latins and the Romanised Kelts little was done even in the south. A century later there were only twenty bishops who could be mustered from all Gaul. Britain was worse, and we hear only of one native and two Latin bishops. Spain, indeed, which had been diligently Romanised by Augustus, produced the great statesman and bishop, Hosius ; by his efforts the south was well won, but at the cost of much compromise and falling off from the ideal purity. Along the military frontier of the Danube and the Rhine we find, when Constantine

¹ Lindsay, *Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 501.

declared for Christianity, only four or five feeble churches at the chief posts.

The fact is, that in the West Christianity met with a formidable opposition from another religion, that of Mithra. This was an importation from Persia, which itself had been transformed on its Westward journey. Once Mithra had been the god of light and truth, captain of the hosts of good; Zoroaster had neglected him and elevated Ahura Mazda, but had given him a tinge of redeeming activity. In Babylon he acquired something of the attributes of Shamash the Sun; in Anatolia also he was identified with Hēlios; the Greeks gave him a human form, and produced a group of statuary showing his battle with the bull, which speedily became standard, while they blended their stoic philosophy with the old Persian creed. Indeed, under King Mithradates it seemed as though Mithra might be the chief god of those parts, but the successes of Pompey ended that phase. The garrisons on the Eastern frontier of the empire became deeply leavened; and when, after one hundred and fifty years, some of them were transferred to the frontiers in Italy, Gaul, Britain, and Africa, the worship of Mithra at once became important in those parts. Christianity was weak here because Mithraism was strong; at every fort along the wall between Carlisle and Newcastle was one of the cave-temples, while York, Caerleon, and Chester were great centres. When Diocletian was girding himself for his struggle with Christianity, he and his associates excavated for Mithra a stately cavern on the Danube, the largest temple known.

Nor was this a religion for soldiers alone : Syrian slaves and traders carried it to Sicily, and up the Rhone ; the junior civil servants spread it in the Tyrol. It appealed to many classes of society ; the Emperor Commodus was initiated, and ever afterwards a Mithra chaplain was maintained in the imperial household, while the Roman aristocracy took up his worship as the correct thing. The attraction exercised on the emperors seems due to the theology justifying the deification of the living emperor, and upholding a doctrine of Divine Right. The lower classes were conciliated by its astrology and magic, while another large section was fascinated by its secret ritual, its passwords and degrees.

Its inner weakness was its lack of culture and its idolatry, untouched by the Greek spirit ; nor had it any message for women ; so, when the barbarians sacked the frontier towns and destroyed the temples, the crisis came. Christians believed that the Mithra priests incited Galerius to the last trial of strength ; but Constantine, though emperor in the West, had been bred in the East, and judged that Christianity was the better religion to patronise. Yet he brought into his State Religion from Mithra the name of Sun-Day ; and from the same source the Christian ideas of Hell were modified and made more definite. Mithraism did not die at once : Julian fostered it as the only alternative to Christianity, and the Roman aristocracy at once rallied to it ; but on the Christian victory fierce persecution of the rival religion followed, and the temples were widely destroyed. For awhile the Mithraic worship of the rising

sun was adopted by Christians, but this has long been left to the Parsîs. As Mithraism fled, its mantle fell on Manichæism with a double portion of its spirit, and the struggle was renewed with a nobler antagonist.

Mani was a widely travelled thinker, who wrought out a system on the foundation of old Babylonian thought, with elements added from Zoroaster, the Buddha, and Persian Christianity. Dropping all the barbaric idolatry, he introduced a spiritual worship; his doctrine was the old Persian dualism, his morality the high ethics of Christianity and Buddhism. But while these loans gave great vogue to his system, and made it the next formidable rival to Christianity, the one point that claims our attention is his transportation to the West of the Buddhist scheme whereby there was a circle of initiated monks surrounded with an undefined fringe of hearers. We remember that the Buddha found in vogue mere individualistic asceticism; that he reformed and humanised it; and that he placed his monks under social discipline with definite rules. These features were copied by Mani, and while independently of him in Egypt the Indian asceticism grew up, and the organisation into convents was effected by Pachomius and Basil for the East, and by Benedict for the West, yet their efforts were aided by the same plan being successful in the rival Manichæan community. What this meant for European missions will presently be seen. Meantime we must note that while Manichæism never had a chance against Christianity backed by the power of the State, yet it held its own intellectually, almost capturing Priscillian and

Augustine. On into the Middle Ages it wrestled in Gaul ; at Orleans its votaries were found, in Languedoc the priests of Rome feared it, and at length the Albigenses, accused by them of Manichæism in the thirteenth century, were only stamped out ruthlessly by a crusade.

But Greek Christianity became Romanised in the West, and the great contribution was the imperial uniformity gradually exacted. The heathen emperor had judged aright, the Bishop of Rome became an emperor of the Church. If Justinian at New Rome codified the civil law, Dionysius codified the canons of the councils, adding to them the decretal letters of the Popes. At the time this meant nothing for missions ; but as soon as a man with a missionary spirit became Pope, it meant the deliberate extension of Christianity and the Romanising of all the West.

3. THE UNCIVILISED TRIBES : KELTIC, TEUTONIC, AND SLAVONIC

Lance, shield, and sword relinquished, at his side
A beadroll, in his hand a clasped book,
Or staff more harmless than a shepherd's crook,
The warworn chieftain quits the world, to hide
His thin autumnal locks where monks abide
In cloistered privacy.

Not sedentary all : there are who roam
To scatter seeds of life on barbarous shores ;
Or quit with zealous steps their knee-worn floors
To seek the general mart of Christendom ;
Whence they, like richly laden merchants, come
To their beloved cells.

WORDSWORTH.

With the winning of the Greek and Roman world, one great victory was won by missionaries in Europe. Now we look into the lands to the West and North to see the progress among other nations. Observe first the religion that prevailed in Gaul, Ireland, and Britain, the homes of the Kelts.

Besides the universal substratum of worships, where wells, stumps, and stones receive adoration, we hear of a god of rhetoric and writing portrayed by a bronze statue one hundred and twenty feet high, in a splendid temple on the Puy-de-Dôme : of a goddess Brigit very popular in Ireland, guardian of medicine and smiths : of a horned god guarding the nether world : of Llud, worshipped at Stonehenge, and at fountains, where the rite was to draw water in a tankard and dash on a slab ; worshipped also at Cavan, where was a great image plated with gold and silver before which the first-born were sacrificed to him as god of war. These are but specimens from the Keltic pantheon.

The great missionary in Gaul was Martin, who after a soldier's career in garrison at the north, and a stay in a monastery off the south coast, was chosen Bishop of Tours in 371 A.D., and gave himself for the rest of the century to evangelistic journeys with enthusiastic monks. He could combine deeds of violence on the idols with Christianisation of the heathen customs ; of this a good example was his taking over a pagan festival still known after him as Martinmas. Other survivals are the Breton Pardons or the Cornish Patterns, watch-nights at the

sacred wells, hanging rags on the bushes around these with prayers for cures.

The great wave of missionary monks of which Martin is such an illustrious instance was felt in Britain, where the old civilisation was being wrecked by the heathen Angles, and the surviving Christians were being crowded back to the west. Thence they sought a refuge across the channel, landing near Wicklow and Wexford, which long remained the headquarters of Christianity, though they pushed up the coast and leavened all the eastern population. Two points we must attend to in this invasion of a new heathen field: the monastic character of the workers, and the compromise with local customs.

Hermits seeking their own salvation were an Indian invention, transplanted to Egypt after the days of Alexander. The Buddha had banded these together and set them to propagate his teaching; the banding and disciplining of the Christian hermits was first undertaken by Pachomius of Egypt, who taught them to work and worship. This system was transplanted again to Italy by Athanasius, while Augustine fostered it in Africa, Cassian of Marseilles and Martin of Tours in Gaul. At each transplantation the system had shed something local or accidental, and was gaining in value. Now through Brittany, Cornwall, and especially through South Wales it reached Ireland. But whereas in the warm lands beyond the Mediterranean very little toil is needed to support life, so that the Eastern monks in Europe tend to worship and contemplation; in the colder North-

West there must be more activity, and the monks were often great civilisers, illustrating the value of labour by free men, and undermining slavery by their example. Martin of Tours and his disciples now asked what nobler work there could be than mission work in heathen lands, and a new turn was given to monastic ideals. And thus, independently of the Buddha, the same end was attained; and the monasteries became schools to train foreign missionaries, libraries and publishing houses to equip them with books, and hospitals for them to retire to on furlough. Thus about 400 A.D. a Briton called Ninian, trained at Rome, settled on the coast of the Irish Sea, and built a stone church near Whithern, which he dedicated to the famous Martin, with a monastery which became a centre of propagation as far as the Grampians. Here lived wild Highlanders, who from their habit of flinging aside their clothes and rushing into battle naked, but with painted bodies, are known as Picts. Unfortunately the withdrawal of the Roman Legions made way for the invading Angles, and in a letter to Ceretic the Christian British King of Strathclyde, we find that he was allied not only with Christian Irish settled to the North, but with these Picts who had relapsed from the faith and are styled Apostates. The work of Ninian was more lasting in the vales of Cumbria; at Penrith was a well sacred to the pagan British, which he took over, so that it was dedicated to him. Even to-day the maidens go to Ninian's Well, and drop pins to see if their lovers will be true to them; and on the four Sundays in May, festivals are held

here in which the archæologist traces the old pagan worship which the Christian missionary allowed to remain as an innocent diversion.

The same policy was pursued with the Irish by the many nameless or obscure monk-missionaries; they utilised what they found, and did not make a point of introducing Gallic or British or Roman methods. They conciliated the Druids, celebrated the Saviour on the old idol pillars in three languages—Greek, Hebrew, and Latin: Sotēr, Jesus, Salvator; and so strove not to beat down the ancient civilisation, but to win it for Christ. And so, from the first, Irish Christianity was a learned Christianity. The Bards were won, and induced to attach their schools to the monasteries, to tune their harps to Irish Christian hymns. In return, their custom of shaving the front half of the head was adopted, and became the distinguishing mark of the Irish missionary. The kings were won, and a relative of each was installed as head of the monastery for the clan, and consecrated as bishop. The old holy wells were not filled up; but when the people followed their chiefs, they were led to the familiar scene of worship, there to be baptized. If open defiance of old custom was occasionally shown in lighting the sacred fire on Easter eve, the more usual plan was to take over and Christianise any innocent habit.¹

¹ The story of Patrick is so familiar that reference to him can hardly be omitted. But the oldest accounts of his life were not written down for two centuries, and a careful examination of them by Zimmer shows that they are false and partisan. There certainly was a British Christian called Patrick, who worked in Ireland and has left two genuine writings;

A famous missionary in the north and west of Britain was Kentigern. Son of a Welsh nun by her captor, an English king, he took up Ninian's work in Strathclyde, and laboured as far south as Carlisle, where the Welsh were still pagan. But as the king frowned on his doings, he went to see the great Welsh archbishop, David, newly returned from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and evangelising the pagan Welsh in Pembrokeshire. On the journey Kentigern paused near the Dee, and there built a wooden monastery that soon housed a thousand monks. Recalled to Strathclyde by a new king, he handed over the Deeside monastery to his convert, Asaph, and returned to the banks of the Clyde, where he named the new capital Glasgow. From there to Carlisle he wandered and preached for the rest of his life; indeed, holy wells named after him are found even in the English kingdom of Northumbria. Once at the northern edge of the kingdom he met another famous missionary, Columba, who had come direct from the Scots in Ireland to the Scots and Picts north of the Clyde. The two evangelists changed staffs, and the crosier once borne by Columba, then for nineteen years by Kentigern, was shown at Ripon till the Reformation.

Columba settled on the isle of Iona, where arose a he is perhaps to be identified with Palladius, ordained by Pope Celestine and "sent as first bishop to the Irish believing in Christ." But this contemporary statement of Prosper Tiro shows that the conversion of the Irish was already accomplished; and that Patrick was simply an organiser, like Theodore of Tarsus, with the important difference that he was rejected by the people he sought to subject.

dwelling for the missionaries, another for their visitors, a kitchen, a dining-room, a chapel, all woven of osiers and plastered with clay ; these were grouped around a grassy sward and sheltered by an earthen rampart, outside which were the farm buildings. This settlement became the centre whence the missionaries sailed in their wicker canoes all through the archipelago. At first they needed interpreters, and it took nearly three centuries before the Scots from Ireland subdued the piratical Highlanders and replaced the Pictish tongue by the Scottish. But the missionaries were eager to civilise and Christianise ; round the Hebrides they sailed, up the lochs into the heart of the land, and as soon as a few disciples were gathered by preaching they were taught to weave a wicker church with a room for the missionary. One or two pupils were left to instruct the new disciples, and were cheered by frequent visits from Iona. Before long a stone cross was carved, and sometimes the alphabet would be added round the edge, that the natives might be taught to read. For though as early as Cæsar's day the Druids used to write, they kept their knowledge as a treasured secret ; but the Christian missionary sought to spread the art everywhere, and many beautiful copies of the Scriptures were produced in the wattled huts. In such work Columba spent his life, and when he died in 597 A.D. the Highlands were occupied for Christ.

Nor did his followers confine their labours to their own race. From the Hebrides they sailed on to the Orkneys, the Shetlands, the Faroes, and even to Iceland. Before

the Norse pirates arrived here, the Scottish missionary had pushed out with his crosier, his bell, and his Bible. Indeed, there are Norse tales that their influence extended down the western shores of the Atlantic; and one student of Mexico interprets the old legends of white men from the sea to mean the arrival of Irish missionaries in Central America, where they did something to leaven the native religion. But all this is not preserved to us in detail, and at the best the work was isolated and died out. For abiding results we must turn from Ireland to the south-east of Europe.

Before the death of Columba, a namesake of his, born in Leinster and trained at the monastery of Bangor in Ulster, had sailed with twelve helpers for the continent. They settled down in the Vosges mountains, where all civilisation had been trampled out by repeated invasions, and where the bear and wolf roamed through dense forests. Here they built their wattled home, and spent their time felling the trees and tilling the land, copying Bibles and praying. The example won hundreds of the heathen tribes, and other settlements were planted out in the neighbourhood, to which even the nobles of the Franks and Burgundians brought their sons. Indeed, within fifty years all the North of the country, which had relapsed into paganism, was won by fresh Irish immigrants, or by colonists from this centre. But the jealousy of the worldly bishops and the anger of an adulterous queen drove away Columban after twelve years. Spending a mournful vigil by the tomb of his great predecessor Martin, whose

work he had really done over again among the invaders with their nominal Christianity, he went up the Rhine into Switzerland. Here at first his burning heathen temples and flinging idols into the lakes hindered a new start, but on the lake of Constance he found an old church which he made the centre of fresh work. This he placed under his pupil Gallus, who taught the people to garden and fish, and so won them where the denunciations of Columban repelled. Ere long Gallus saw one of his converts Bishop of Constance, and he moved on to found another missionary centre still known as St. Gall, which in three hundred years grew to be one of the most celebrated schools of Europe. Meantime the uncompromising Columban, after abandoning the thought of preaching to the Slavonians, pushed on over the Alps and founded another centre among the Lombards at Bobbio, where he died in old age, while his disciples spread out over the plain and even as far as Fiesole, overhanging Florence, if not to Tarentum on the sea.

The success of this mission called forth others, and up the Rhine sailed many more Scots, planting monasteries among the heathen tribes. Belgium too was evangelised, and the archbishop with his three helpers sealed their testimony with their blood. North Holland and Friesland excited the concern of Wilfrid and of Egbert, abbot in Connaught; so at length Willibrord, who had for twelve years been in training there, went with eleven others. We hear of his being wrecked on Heligoland, where he slew some sacred cattle and baptized converts in the holy

well. We hear, too, of his buying boys and training them to be missionaries; of his stirring up Christians of the continent and of England to generous help; and of the Christianising all the lowlands by the coast.

Such work could not pass unnoticed, and in those dark ages Rome was still the centre of all civilisation for the West. The story how monks were turned missionaries and were reviving the duty of evangelising the heathen was calculated to fire any ardent soul. And one such had God raised up in Gregory, himself a monk in Italy. The monks of Benedict had hitherto laboured in the fields and prayed, and it was no part of Benedict's scheme that they should be foreign missionaries. But the Keltic monks had now shown what could be done for the spread of the Gospel. Gregory wished to go to England in person, but God had other work for him, and placed him at the head of the Christian forces in Rome.

In the last year of Columba's life in Iona, Gregory sent out a mission band of Italian monks, who were extremely reluctant to undertake this novel enterprise. He compelled them to go forward, and they broke ground among the English in Kent and Yorkshire. Although they failed all but utterly, the Keltic monks of Iona at once took up the friendly challenge. An exile from Northumbria had been at their island home, where he was converted; and when he fought his way to his father's kingdom, he sent north for missionaries. Soon he installed Aidan on the isle of Lindisfarne, where arose a church of split oak

thatched with grass. And till Aidan learned the English speech the king himself did not disdain to interpret his sermons. Converts were soon gained ; and one of the earliest, Cuthbert by name, did grand work at Melrose and Ripon, Lindisfarne and York ; as simple monk or prior or bishop, he was earnest in his travel and preaching, till Northumbria rang with his fame, and Cuthbert was one of the most popular names for centuries.

From Lindisfarne missionaries went to the Midlands, and at Lichfield the name of Chad is justly honoured. His brother became the apostle of Essex, while Wilfrid of York much later evangelised Sussex, winning his way by teaching the natives how to fish. We hear of the missionaries riding in bands from place to place, beguiling the way with chanting the Latin psalms. The bishop became the king's right-hand man, the fount of culture, training preachers, planting them out, itinerating to evangelise and to encourage the lonely workers ; he was probably as busy a man as could be found. At Whitby arose a great missionary college presided over by the Abbess Hilda. New converts, men and women alike, were often brought here for training and instruction, then sent back again to be points of light in their homes and villages.

Meantime the Italians returned to the charge in the south, and won Wessex. Within fifty years from the death of Columba, four English bishops had been appointed. Two conferences took place between the Churches of the English, which resulted in their abandoning many Keltic customs and falling into line with the Italian ; presently

they bowed out the missionaries, and organised themselves as a national Church in communion with Rome. This should remind us that faithful missionaries must distinguish between what is of the essence of the Gospel, what is mere accidental custom, and what is national ; only the first need be taken up and incorporated into the Christianity of a new nation. Thus of the points which the converts of the Scotch waived, one was that the heads of the clergy should no longer be shaved in front from ear to ear, a custom of the heathen Druids carried over into the Scottish Church ; another was that the old Christian calendar which they had inherited should be given up for an improved revision ; another was some detail in the administration of infant baptism. In the same way we must not be surprised if in the Malay archipelago, where nine American, four British, and twelve Dutch societies are at work, the thirty-eight thousand converts may some day consult together and decide to form a Malay Church, compromising on many details, and producing a type of Christianity congenial to their habits.

The programme laid down by that great missionary statesman, Gregory, was full of wisdom ; he directed that not all Roman ways were to be transplanted, but that Roman and British and Gallic usages were all to be considered. He advised that the old pagan temples might be cleared of idols and used for Christian worship, and that as the people were accustomed to sacrifice oxen to their gods, they might still be encouraged to come on the day dedicated to some martyr or saint, build their wattled huts around

the church, and hold the feast as of old, but now in honour of the saint. And in Yorkshire, a stronghold of the Keltic mission, may still be seen an old menhir at which the heathen had worshipped, on which the missionaries carved a cross, and beside which grew up a church. But the Keltic influence is not to be seen in churches and abbeys ; their humble dwellings of wattle and daub have long been replaced by stately English or Norman fanes ; they believed that mighty as is the trowel, mighty as is the sword, mightier yet is the pen ; and from the first they spent their energy in giving the people the Word of God. Splendid copies of the Psalms and Gospels were made at Lindisfarne, Jarrow, and Whitby ; and if these were still in Latin, for that nothing English was yet in writing, yet two pupils of the Irish missionaries, Cædmon in the north and Aldhelm in the south, versified the Bible story and sang it by the roadside in the abbey ; while presently the native Church produced a Bede who set himself to translate the Gospel into plain English prose.

The work of the Keltic missionaries had latterly lain among the great Teuton races. These had been evangelised already in two fashions. When the Franks had broken into the empire, the Christian clergy there had seen to the new-comers. And Eastwards, when Wulf the Goth, sent to Constantinople as a hostage, had been won for Christ, he returned North of the Danube to tell his people. This work he made permanent by making the first European version of the Scriptures, a generation before Jerome began to revise the Latin for Western

Europe. For awhile the Goths resisted the Gospel, banished Wulf and his converts, sought out Christians everywhere, and insisted on their eating meat sacrificed to idols, or being burned in their households. But being themselves attacked by the Huns, they accepted Christianity as the condition of being granted an asylum in the empire. And now with their own vernacular Bible they became missionaries to their kin; and wherever they settled, in Austria, Italy, South France, Spain, and North Africa, the Gospel was carried in Teuton guise. It deserves notice that the Teutons were at first bitterly hostile to monasticism, and everywhere forced monks back into social life. The two mission agencies, monks and the Bible, are seldom associated, though indeed Jerome shows that for an established Church a monk can do good work in revision, and Theodore and Hadrian rendered good service in organisation.

But now the question was of Teutons outside the empire, and again a converted Teuton was successful, again was the success maintained by a vernacular Bible. The great organiser of missions now was an Englishman, Winfrid by name, but renamed Boniface by a second Pope Gregory. Born on the borders of Cornwall, where he saw Keltic and Benedictine monks rivalling one another, bred at Nutcell near Winchester, he went to see what Willibrord was doing in Friesland. He recognised his call abroad, and with a letter from his bishop won the Pope's commission. Kelts and Franks and Scots had planted; he now took up the watering. Somehow

his predecessors had no gift of organising, which is not strong among Kelts ; but he had something of the English genius, and his labours gave stability to the cause. He did not slavishly follow old precedents, but instead of bidding the converts vaguely renounce the devil and all his works, he bade them renounce Wodin and Thor by name. He thought life too short to be divided between mission work and farming, and drew supplies of money and food and clothes from his friends at home. He sent for women to labour among women. He would brook no opposition to his plans, once he had won the confidence of the Pope and was made Archbishop of Mainz ; one recalcitrant helper he at last imprisoned ! And in the same drastic spirit he went once to the sacred oak of Thor, and before a crowd of pagans hewed it down with his own hand, causing a Christian church to be built of its timber. Trained himself to the Latin Bible, yet the discovery that Latin was a live language in Italy seems to have set him thinking. When he returned he set a lad to read the Scripture ; this he did fluently, but it proved that he was merely pronouncing the words without understanding, and this though he was grandson of the abbeſs, newly left ſchool. Boniface translated the paſſage and preached, and the lad was ſo attracted that next day he rode off with the miſſionary and gave all his life to the ſame ſervice. Whether Boniface himſelf followed up the hint is not clear ; but within fifty years the old Diatessaſaron of Tatian, the composite life of Chriſt, was turned into German poetry, and the Heliand became

the popular epic of the people, setting forth Christ as the Healer.

Another style of mission was inaugurated by Charles the Great, who had seen something of the success attending the Muslim campaigns. He set out to conquer the Saxons and force on them the Gospel, so behind his armies of warriors came the armies of monks. While the soldiers hewed down the sacred groves, slew the sacred horses, destroyed the idols and the caldrons, the monks had the harder task of dealing with the home religion, the wishing-wells and trees, the village heroes, the belief in fairies and elves. With this they seem to have dealt wisely, planting the Good Seed in hope that the tares could be rooted out after awhile. If in this they were too sanguine, at least the survivals everywhere in Germany and England do not detract from the glory due to Christ. It is no defacement of religion to call our days after Tiu and Woden and Frigga and Sæter, or to scour the White Horse on the Berkshire Downs, or for the Royal Family to be drawn by white horses—all of them relics of the old Arian worship. A single exception is known to the general destruction of idols: at the present day one may be seen outside an Antwerp church, often decked with flowers by wives desiring children. This must be a step beyond what Pope Sergius contemplated when he ordered that festivals should be adjusted to the old heathen holy days, a policy that accounts for much of the Belgian May-day celebrations. It is pleasant to find that at a synod in Frankfort missionary matters were discussed, and on the

one hand the policy of cutting down pagan trees and groves was approved, while on the other it was emphatically declared that "there is no tongue in which prayer may not be offered."

Then came the problem of the Teutons across the Baltic, the fierce Norsemen, whose pirate barks threw them on every coast to harry or destroy. All around the shores of Britain they practically eradicated Christianity, and the story of how they were there won for Christ is part of the home mission tale. But the slaves they captured brought among them some knowledge of the White Christ, and in their later Eddas we note a leaven of Christian thought, a recognition that Baldur must die and the gods pass down to the twilight, while the world is prepared for better gods.

Ground was broken in their homes by Anskar, a monk from Corbey near Amiens, given the honorary title of Archbishop of Hamburg, but really leaning on a missionary abbey in Flanders. He ransomed Scandinavian slaves, and trained them there before dispatching to their kinsmen. The Northmen were defiant of the Christ. While the settlers in the English Danelagh and the Normandy of France came to terms with the local god, not so they. If their kings were converted and tried to force them too to destroy the idols, to bestow the sacred ring on some favoured queen, to burn the brush that sprinkled the blood on the worshippers, to forswear horse-flesh—then they fought their king, and when worsted sailed off to Iceland or Greenland, or South again to a Wineland that

might be a refuge for these persecuted pilgrim fathers. It is not pleasant to read the doings of Hakon and the Olafs ; but Longfellow has seized the spirit of the times and made them familiar to us.

I am the god Thor !
I am the War god !
I am the Thunderer !
Here in my Northland,
My fastness and fortress,—
Reign I for ever !

Force rules the world still,
Has ruled it, shall rule it ;
Meekness is weakness,
Strength is triumphant ;
Over the whole earth
Still is it Thor's Day.

Thou art a god too,
O Galilæan !
And thus single-handed
Unto the combat,
Gauntlet or Gospel,
Here I defy Thee !

One sketch must suffice to show the difficulties of the task here—the winning of Iceland, last stronghold of the Norse faith. Olaf the White, King of Dublin, learned Christianity from his Irish subjects ; and on his death his widow came to end her days in Iceland. So long as she made no attempt to force her religion on others, the established Church of Odin tolerated her dissent, and allowed a cross to be erected. But after her death it was thrown down, and Christianity faded out as it had done a

century earlier. Next came a Saxon priest, and laboured four years quietly preaching. A graphic account is given of his contest with a demon inhabiting a holy stone, how his prayers availed nothing for two days, but on the third a sprinkling with holy water split the stone to pieces, and the doubting bonder gave in his adhesion to the White Christ. Next came Thangbrand, scorned as the drunken priest, setting back the infant cause. But the times were against the old paganism, and at last in the annual Al Thing the whole matter was debated. The pagan leader proposed a compromise : the old temples should be abolished, and national sacrifices should cease ; the Lord's day, Easter, and Yule should be observed ; but there should be no prohibition of eating horse-flesh, nor any inquiry into the worship at home, and immersion should be not in the cold lake but in the hot springs. The terms were accepted, and soon the Icelanders were gathering around the Table of Peace.

It is accepted,
The angry defiance,
The challenge of battle ;
It is accepted,
But not with the weapons
Of war that thou wieldest !

Cross against corselet,
Love against hatred,
Peace-cry for war-cry ;
Patience is powerful,
He that o'ercometh
Hath power o'er the nations !

Stronger than steel
Is the sword of the Spirit,
Swifter than arrows
The life of the truth is,
Greater than anger
Is love, and subdueth !

When at last Knut reigned over an empire that included Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Britain, when Danes became Archbishops of Canterbury, and Englishmen bishops in Denmark, then we may reckon that the victory was won, and that the Northmen at home as abroad were accepting Christ, though it was 1075 before Thor and Wodin were outlawed in Sweden. Let us not forget that it took more than two hundred years from the time when Ebbo, the Primate of France, began by baptizing Harald Klak, till the time when Knut went as pilgrim to Rome ; while, if we look back to the time when Augustine and Aidan began in England, more than four centuries were taken to win for Christ the tough Teuton race. And shall we be daunted if a single century of Protestant work among the hard thinkers of the Orient has accomplished so little ?

Long before the Teutonic races were won by the Gospel, this was preached also to the last great section of the Arians in Europe, the Slavs, comprising the Bulgarians, Moravians, Bohemians, Poles, Prussians, Wends, Russians, etc. Three specimens of the work may be glanced at—the mission of Cyril and Methodius in Moravia ; the search of the Russians for God ; and the conquests of the Teutonic knights in Prussia.

Moravia was a borderland suffering from rival missions ; the wars of Charles the Great had introduced compulsory baptism and the Latin services ; but the rulers strove for independence, and pleaded with the emperor at Constantinople for missionaries to teach them in their own tongue. Two Thessalonians were sent them with the order to translate. Out of Greek and Armenian and Hebrew letters, eked out with some original shapes, they concocted an alphabet of forty signs, and proceeded to render into Slavonic the Gospels and Acts and Psalms. At this the Pope interfered ; but after long argument he was persuaded to sanction their work, only with the restriction that service was to be in Greek or Latin. The Moravian nation was soon absorbed into others ; but the Slavonic Bible remained only too well, for despite changes in the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries it still is the official Bible of the Russian Church.

Turn to see how this Church arose. By the tenth century a great kingdom was ruled from Kieff, and many attempts were made to win the ruler. Muslims and Jews were rebuffed at once, German Christians failed, but a Greek Christian induced him to send deputations to study all these in their homes. On their report he adopted Greek Christianity, captured Kherson in the Crimea, was there wedded to the emperor's sister, and baptized by her clergy. His courtiers and sons followed suit, the national idol was destroyed, and the temple replaced by a church ; while the people came by thousands at his bidding to be immersed in the Dnieper. After this sensational beginning,

the work was followed up steadily, and all the civilisation of Constantinople was imported with its religion, schools arising, the Slavonic Bible and a Slavonic liturgy being introduced. True that the Mongols, who wrought such harm to Christianity in China and Central Asia and Persia, did grievous damage here for over two centuries ; but the Church held its own, and once the State rose again, the Church spread quickly till printing gave the Revised Bible by 1581 as the best means of completing the victory.

Long before then the Slavs between Russia and the Germans had heard the Gospel. Here there was strong opposition organised by the heathen priests, and missions on the simple Evangelical plan failed utterly. An imposing deputation with a bishop at its head, well equipped with all manner of impedimenta, fared better, having the countenance of the duke, and on one day seven thousand Pomeranians were immersed in three huge baptisteries. As the pagan hierarchy and the stately temples captivated the people, more arrogant Christian clergy erected even more splendid cathedrals, and gradually established a footing. More forcible methods were employed on the Baltic islands, and on the capture of Rügen, Bishop Absalom himself hacked down the enormous idols revered by the people far and near. But it was found wise to let the isle remain a privileged State, with numerous churches, kept up at no cost to the islanders. So at last the very high priest of paganism in Prussia could be attacked. Peaceful methods failing, two bodies of crusaders united with the blessing of Rome, and proceeded to conquer the

land, colonising it with Christians from Germany, reducing the natives to slavery, but offering some remission of hardship to any who would be baptized. With the pagan priests extirpated, their temples razed, their divine serpents and lizards killed, their sacred fires put out, their holy groves hewn down, the people passed over by degrees to Christianity. And so in Prussia and Lithuania the victory of the Cross was assured by 1400 A.D., just about the time when we saw its defeat in Asia accomplished.

While Christianity had been spreading to the north of Europe, it had suffered severe checks to the south. The armies of Islam conquered Spain ; while Charles the Great conquered the Saxons, subdued Anatolia by the time the Norse were won, and pushed up to the upper Danube to counterbalance the Letts. Nowhere did they forcibly suppress Christianity, for always the People of the Book might retain their religion by paying a special tax. But all propagation of Christianity is forbidden under Muslim rule ; and any attempt to win these new peoples had to be from without, by the strong arm breaking the power of Islam.

The kings of Leon, Castile, Portugal, and Aragon slowly fought their way forward, checked twice by two great waves of African Muslims. In the time of success small mercy was requited for the tolerance shown to the Christians ; and the lot of the subject Moors was made so hard that either they retreated to the independent Muslim States, or accepted baptism which was all but compulsory. Crusades were organised, an Inquisition founded to verify

the genuineness of conversions, and when the last Moorish State fell nobly, two rival missionaries attended to the Muslims. The local archbishop learned Arabic and compiled catechism, liturgy, and lectionary for his new flock, promising even a whole Arabic Bible. But the Cardinal Ximenes proceeded to bribe converts and buy up all the Qur'âns and religious books for an auto-da-fé. Soon these drastic methods provoked rebellion, and on its suppression the Moors were either baptized or banished. Thus by 1500 A.D. no other religion but Christianity was tolerated here.

CONCLUSION

So God delights to teach this lesson ever—
That His success depends on our endeavour.

When we look over this long story we see that the winning of Europe was the accomplishment of two distinct tasks—the capture of the great Empire with all its machinery and prestige ; the civilisation of the barbarians who were beyond its borders, or flocked in from the unknown.

To capture the Empire was the work of three hundred years—a fact that may show us the magnitude of our task even now in China and India. The reaction of the Empire on Christianity was most important : theology was permeated with Greek philosophy ; machinery was fashioned on Roman models ; and from the same source came the conception of a code of Church law. But there was much in the Roman

world which was never assimilated, and the culture of Greece fled from the Greek Church. Had it been our task to trace it we should have found it at Baghdad and Cordova, carried by the agency of the Jews, the Persian Christians, and the Muslims. But the Christian Church of Europe broke with the art and literature of the Empire, and was on the whole uncultured. To find a man like Synesius, at once an ecclesiastic and a scholar, is a startling exception. And when there came a renaissance of this rejected art and literature, it provoked in the old Empire blank infidelity, or beyond the Empire a reformation of religion. The warning stands for missionaries not to ignore the heritage of the past, but to believe that God has worked among heathen nations, and desires His work to be utilised, not scorned. The Jews had many advantages,—especially that they were entrusted with the Word of God; that from them sprang, according to the flesh, the Saviour of the world; that they were honoured to be the first bearers of the message of salvation, which transcends all others: but the Gentiles were not utterly overlooked by God through all the ages, and they had their gold and frankincense and myrrh to lay at the feet of the Redeemer.

The spread of Christianity in the empire was the easier because no other religion at first had any vitality; and when Neo-Platonism, Mithraism, and Manichæism appeared, they found the Church already well developed, and not averse to using force to complete its victory. Such a consideration may again give us pause in contemplating

the modern situation in China and India, where there are religions very much alive, and actively propagating, indeed winning converts perhaps as fast as Christianity.

Professional missionaries were few after the first century of effort; local jealousy almost suppressed them. The spread took place from the strategic centres occupied by the wisdom of the earliest missionaries, and by the influence of purely indigenous churches.

The indispensable tool was the Bible in the vernacular. The Greek Scriptures were at once appropriated from the Jews, and gradually enlarged by the writings of the earliest Christians. In the West arose Latin versions; and when these seemed too many and too rustic, a revision was deliberately ordered by the Pope from the finest linguist in the Church; the Latin Bible was in the hands of every missionary from the West, and even holds its own long after Latin has ceased to be a vernacular.

For new races in a new age there was a revival of apostolic measures. The finer elements in Christian circles were fleeing from the corruption of nominal Christianity, and were lights hiding under bushels. Martin and Gregory upset the bushels, and compelled the lights to lighten the Gentiles. But although it might be pleaded that Paul considered the best missionary would be unmarried, yet we may fairly ask whether monks might not have been supplemented with married couples. The fact was that the evangelisation of the barbarian races was accomplished almost entirely by men in communities pledged to obedience, untrammelled by family cares. Seldom do we

hear of one man or of two men isolated at a station ; and when that policy was adopted in the thirteenth century, for Latin missions to China, it failed.

These missionaries reversed the selfish plea of the Church at Jerusalem, that the mother-church should be supported by the converts, and drew heavily on the resources of the mother-church for support and for all the material they needed, such as books, vessels, and wagons.

Preaching was, of course, their leading method, and they preached chiefly the facts as to Jesus. As their converts came in they expounded doctrine, but usually had the good sense to leave alone the Greek councils, and to put matters simply. On practical affairs—infanticide, slavery, torture, etc.—they were plain spoken. With idolatry of the pagan type they never compromised, and so utter was the destruction that hardly a single idol survives. While at the proper moment they were ready to heave an idol into the river or cleave it with an axe, to hew down the sacred trees, yet they paved the way by undermining the faith in them first. Aristides and Tertullian had been brutal in their exposure of the old Græco-Roman gods, but the barbarians were shaken rather by questions as to the origin of their gods, their power, their future.

Much work was artistic and industrial. A leading Roman chorister went out to teach the barbarians how to sing ; farming and building were introduced by the missionaries.

Not only did they settle in groups, so that the work was never crippled by the illness of one, and the eccentricity

of one was always liable to correction by the wisdom of the many or the authority of the head ; but also they regularly gathered in conferences from over large areas, to encourage, to compare progress, and to consult on future steps.

Two causes contributed largely to their success : accepting the political divisions, and training aboriginal converts for the ministry. Every king in Ireland claimed to have a bishop beside him, so that it has been said that the bishops were more numerous than the other clergy. And in Britain to every English king was allotted a bishop. The kings were the objects of special solicitude ; often they sought civilised wives, and often the wives bargained for the free exercise of their Christian religion, and so opened the way for new missions. Again and again it was found that the conversion of a king led promptly to the conversion of his clan or sept or tribe or nation.

The missionaries seem always to have had the wisdom to recognise that their work was transitional, and that a permanent Church must be staffed by natives ; and so they established theological seminaries. In many cases there was no permanent centre ; we read of the mission band riding about, relaxing into races, but generally chanting as they ambled along, with schooling at the halts for meals or sleep. Charles the Great had such a peripatetic college at his court. But as monasteries arose, cloisters were set apart for regular training, or scriptoria where pupils were taught to multiply the books needed. Sometimes the first supply of pupils was secured

by ransoming captives, but soon there was no lack of volunteers or of Samuels left by their pious mothers. And so, as native churches arise, foreign superintendents disappear. England was evangelised by Scots, Italians, Franks, Burgundians ; but when after only eighty years a Greek organised the national Church, it was staffed chiefly by English, who before the century ran out were beginning an English version, to be sung at feasts or by the wayside.

But as to barbarian versions, two opinions were held : the Greeks favoured them ; the Romans never could quite reconcile themselves to the fact that their own tongue was not universal. We can readily understand the difference, for the Greeks respected nationality, while the Romans tried to suppress or absorb ; but we must deplore the Roman attitude. While the Greek missionaries furthered native versions for Armenia and Georgia, for Goths and Slavs, the Roman missionaries never undertook a single version for their converts. At most they allowed mystery plays, when the sacred story was dramatised in the vernacular. When we remember that the earliest complete English version dates from the tenth century, the French from the thirteenth, the Bohemian, Danish, and Swedish from the fourteenth, the German from the fifteenth, then we see that none of these were missionary versions, and that what the apostle styles the Sword of the Spirit was never drawn in the West for this holy war.

We must not overlook the existence of missionary strategists who, themselves free from distraction in petty

details at the front, could think out at home the true principles of foreign work, and send instructions to those on the field. Even to-day a labourer in the South Seas or in Africa, or to the lower tribes of America and Asia, might read with advantage what Augustine of Africa has to say about catechising, what Gregory wrote to Austin of Canterbury, how Daniel of Winchester counselled his pupil Boniface when busy in Germany, and how Alcuin of York presided over the great training college of Charles, and planned for missionaries to follow up the armies of the Franks.

If it be asked what Christianity absorbed from the heathendom of the barbarians, it must be pointed out that to them it came very slowly and by degrees. The Empire was in some sense a whole, and if Christianity captured it as a whole it caught a Tatar; for the Empire really captured it and transformed it, so that all the Christianity we know has come through Græco-Roman channels. With the barbarians it was not so; even English customs did not very deeply tinge the Christianity of the converts made by the English missionaries. There were German customs, Spanish, Russian; but none of these have more than local value. If we, for instance, call the feast of the resurrection after our forefathers' goddess Easter, or that of the birth after Yule, and still burn the log and deck the Christmas tree, yet some of these customs die naturally when we migrate away from the old pagan sites, and none of them seem to detract from the real worship of the one God.

Eleven hundred years were occupied in winning the barbarians of Europe, though they had no organised scheme of thought to overcome, and as a rule no powerful priesthood to persuade or to crush. The work was slow, but it has endured. And no sooner was it ended than there arose in the North and West a movement to extricate pure Christianity from the swaddling bands of Rome. In accord with the temper of the age, this led to wars. Missionary effort on the forcible lines of Spain was transferred by Rome to new lands beyond the seas, while for two hundred years the Teutonic nations sought to maintain their independence, not realising that this is best done by a spirited foreign policy, and by handing on to others the Gospel they had received.

Eleven hundred years to win the barbarians of Europe ! With the experience of nearly nineteen centuries, how long should it take their children, the leaders of the world, to win all other barbarians ?

III

THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICA

In the old days, while yet the Church was young,
And men believed that praise of God was sung
In curbing self as well as singing psalms,
There lived a monk, Macarius by name,
A holy man to whom the faithful came
With hungry hearts to hear the wondrous Word.
He bade his followers to be as brothers,
And die to self, to live and work for others.

O'REILLY.

III

The Struggle for Africa

AFRICA presents fresh instances of both the missionary experiences we have already met—contact with ancient religions, and with barbarian tribes. In the north, ancient civilisations were won for Christ in three hundred years, and lost again in a thousand ; in the centre and south, rude tribes are still accessible to the Gospel message. It is needless to go over the story of the north, so far as it means the winning of the Greeks and Romans ; but the impact of the new faith on the natives they ruled is generally overlooked, and will repay attention. Their history introduces us to a problem more serious than any we have met as yet, a problem not unknown elsewhere, but acute in Africa, the problem of Islam. Here is another great missionary religion which has supplanted Christianity all along the north coast, and to-day is contending with us for the pagan tribes. Its origin, its strength, its weakness, and its prospects will claim most of our attention.

Two geographical facts must be noticed as conditioning the progress of missions here. Outside the Mediterranean, Africa has no good harbours, while its rivers are broken

by cataracts and bars and swamps ; travelling is not easy even at the present day, and most of the continent was unknown to the ancients. Again, a huge belt of desert stretches from the Atlantic right across to Persia, broken only by the narrow valley of the Nile and by the Red Sea. North Africa thus has affinities with Palestine and Syria, while South Arabia is far more akin to Africa than to Asia. The population of Africa is deeply influenced by these facts ; leave out of account the Pigmy and Hottentot, relics of a dwarfed yellow race, and we see the great black races to the south of the Sahara, but to the north and up the Nile are two branches of the white race, often called Hamite and Semite. The Semites are the later arrivals, always from Syria and Arabia ; by sea to Carthage, across the isthmus to Egypt, and across the straits at the south not only to Abyssinia, but at least for trade into Mashona-land. The last of these great migrations has been in Christian times, and brought in Islam. But within the last century European Christian Powers have thrown themselves on Africa, and to-day the influence of France and of Great Britain is most powerful, so that its effect on missions must be weighed.

We shall find it convenient to group our topics thus :—

1. The winning of the north coast.
2. Progress in Abyssinia and Arabia.
3. Extinction of Christianity in the north.
4. The rival missions to the blacks.

1. THE WINNING OF THE NORTH COAST

Still the gods were in the temples,
But the ancient faith had fled ;
And the priests stood by their altars,
Only for a piece of bread :
And the oracles were silent,
And the prophets all were dead.

W. C. SMITH.

In the early days of Christianity there were three strategic points to the south of the Mediterranean : Alexandria, the Greek centre amid Egyptian beast-worship ; Cyrene, a Græco-Jewish centre, amid Libyan paganism ; Carthage, a Roman centre, amid Phœnician idolatry, with a remoter background of Berber paganism. Into Alexandria and Cyrene, Jewish influence obtained a ready entrance for the faith, even in apostolic days ; indeed, it is said that the Jews of Babylon, adjoining the modern Cairo, came over bodily to the new faith, and converted their synagogue into a Christian church. The story of Alexandria and its learned Greek teachers is so familiar, and has so little of interest for missions, that we need only recall the anecdote of a Coptic peasant being consecrated owing to the dream of his Greek predecessor. Aristides declared that these Copts were more ignorant than all other peoples ; and Origen, who suffered from the tyranny of the Coptic Patriarch, owned that they were very difficult to approach. Not till 250 A.D. do we hear of five bishops outside the Greek city, increasing presently to twenty-four, showing some progress among the natives. The Greek bishop at

Alexandria kept a tight hold over the country bishops, and the troubles under Decius reveal Churches in the Fayum restive at the attempted control of the Greeks. When Diocletian renewed persecution, the Copts realised at last that the government was in earnest against Christianity, and they therefore embraced it almost as a body. The old beast-worship was evidently outworn, and the new faith gave a national bond against the usurpers from over seas. So when we get clear vision about 340 A.D. we find Coptic Churches all up the Nile, with their own versions in three dialects, successful in gaining nearly a million adherents, to the practical extinction of the old rites, except at Philæ and one or two other temples. For instance, the care of the Nilometer was transferred to a Christian Church, and the festival of the annual rising was celebrated by the Christian clergy. Another century saw the forcible demolition of all the little country shrines.

The form that Christianity assumed among the natives was, however, most extraordinary ; we have had occasion to notice its later modifications in Europe, but monasticism in Egypt deserves special notice. Just as the hermits of India had been organised into communities by the Buddha, so now the Christians of Egypt became ascetics, and were gathered into labour colonies by Pachomius, a native Copt. Their development was barely credible, and travellers from other lands came to investigate. They found at Oxyrhynchus ten thousand monks and twenty thousand nuns, with no families whatever ; while in the suburbs were secluded Lauras, or minor monasteries. Three other

places are mentioned, where the same extreme course was adopted. Of course, in such communities all learning rapidly died out, and only survived in the great towns, especially among the pagans, as the name of Hypatia reminds us. A sharp distinction is to be drawn between these monks or nuns, all lay people, and the clergy, who were necessarily married, and who took over the native custom from the pagan priests of completely shaving the head, producing the "tonsure" to which Athanasius had objected. At a later stage the Copts broke away altogether from the Greek Church, and though the Greek emperor kept up a State establishment at Alexandria, the Copts went their own way and developed on purely national lines. The only mission they ever seem to have sent forth was up the Nile to Abyssinia, where we shall presently note them.

Cyrene we must pass by, and look on to Carthage. The population here was in three strata, which it is important to distinguish. First was the old Berber aboriginal element, known then as Numidian, and to-day as Kabyle ; white in colour, though soon tanned under the fierce sun, democratic, with a village system of government, and never possessing any literature, even at this day. But a race that could produce a Jugurtha, to fight Rome on equal terms, deserves more attention than it usually receives. Second was the Semite colony from Tyre that founded Carthage, bringing its own Hebrew speech. After seven hundred years, in which a Hannibal and a Terence had appeared, this State was indeed blotted out ; but the people and the language remained, though under

the heel of Rome. Last came the Latins, who had ruled for at least two centuries when Christianity came hither.

The immigrant elements were lending a favourable ear by 180 A.D., when we hear of Punic martyrs winning the great Latin jurist Tertullian by their constancy. Forty years later we hear of seventy bishops gathered at Carthage, a number which shows us that the local organisation of village home-rule, taken over by Semites and Latins alike, had been adopted in Christian matters. Presently appeared a Latin Bible ; but we never hear anything of a Hebrew New Testament for the older settlers, and even the great Augustine never learned this tongue, spoken by the conquered Carthaginians all the country round. The contempt of the Latins for their overthrown antagonists seems to have shown itself in disdaining to learn their language, for the Old Testament must have found many readers who needed no interpreter. There certainly was strong racial feeling, for two great divisions here associated with the names of Novatian and Donatus evinced nearly as much politics as religion, the dissenters being chiefly Punic, and outnumbering the State Church. The rivalry produced great progress, and we hear of five hundred and sixty-five bishops at a meeting in 411 A.D. Yet the aborigines, already chiefly confined to the hills, do not seem to have been deeply influenced ; although we hear of bishops among the black huts of the nomads, and not till the monastic movement was naturalised was much headway made among them. Then paganism was so dead that the largest old temple, two miles in circuit, was made

over as a Christian cemetery, and another in the city became a cathedral. Soon afterwards entered the Vandals, and if they opposed the idolatrous State Church and the unsocial monks, be it remembered that they were Christians with their vernacular Bible translated by Wulf. Unhappily, while Christians quarrelled, missions languished, and the hill tribes revived paganism. The only offset is that some of the slaves sent into the desert spread their faith, and we hear of work beginning among the Moors. As if there were not enough rival Churches, Belisarius introduced the Greeks and their own quarrels, and in the year 646 A.D., before any other religion came to oppose all alike, only one hundred and ten bishops could be assembled in the distracted land.

If it be asked why Christianity never spread inland, and was confined simply to the strip on the North and to the Nile valley, the answer is that the desert was impassable, that the value of the camel was not known, and that not Christianity alone but all civilisation was cramped in like fashion.

2. PROGRESS IN ARABIA AND ABYSSINIA

Utter the song, O my soul! the flight and return of Mohammed, Prophet and priest, who scattered abroad both evil and blessing, Huge wasteful empires founded, and hallowed slow persecution, Soul-withering; but crushed the blasphemous rites of the pagan And idolatrous Christians. For veiling the Gospel of Jesus, They, the best corrupting, had made it worse than the vilest.

COLERIDGE.

The south of Arabia had little to do with the north, population and civilisation being quite distinct. Behind

the barren coasts lies a fertile interior, from the eastern province of Oman and the pearl islands, always in touch with Persia, Beluchistan, and India, along the Hadramaut strip, to the most important district of Yemen in the south-west. This has always been the centre of Arabian life, with three great towns—Aden on the coast; Sana, the political capital; and Mecca, the religious focus, on whose “right hand,” as you face the rising sun, the province lies, so obtaining its name. As long ago as the days of Solomon, settlers hence colonised Abyssinia, whose treasurer was won for Christ at an early date.

The religion of the nomad tribes was fairly simple. In the back of their beliefs loomed the figure of One God; but the middle distance showed the Sabian worship of sun and moon, which may have flourished when the Queen of Sheba visited Solomon; the foreground was choked with superstitious observances. All the country offered material for their religion; dotted about were sacred wells, but the sandy wastes were filled with demoniac Jinns. Tribal taboos were common, and feasts, especially on live camels torn to pieces in sacrifice. Here and there were sacred areas, within whose boundaries might be no reaping, or hunting, or felling of trees. Often a cave would be here, where treasure might be stored, and then an aërolite might be set above it as a god to guard the deposit, and possibly a priest would install himself to thrive on pious pilgrims. For to such sanctuaries the tribes repaired, as to a Welsh Eisteddfod, blending business, pleasure, and worship; for the sake of

this a sacred truce was kept, providing one month to go, one to stay, and one to return.

In the first century of our era occurred great changes. A new line of kings arose, the Himyarites ; the old land routes of traffic were superseded by sea routes, the old capital began to decay, and its huge reservoirs fell by degrees into ruin ; the old worship of sun and moon faded out, though at the mouth of the Euphrates it yet lingers among five thousand Mandæans. Some scholars attribute all these changes to a vast immigration of Jews, cast out of Palestine by the wars of Vespasian and Hadrian ; and they even go so far as to assert that the immigrants converted the king, or provided a king out of their own number. Harnack, however, conjectures that some of these immigrants were Jewish Christians, and that Pantænus came and found the Aramaic Gospel here in Yemen, not in Oman or Beluchistan.

Not till the fourth century do we have any clear light on the progress of Christianity here, when two missionaries of different sects arrived by sea, from Greek lands. Frumentius of Tyre, enslaved in Abyssinia as a boy, became first its chief secretary, and then its chief missionary ; while Theophilus of Socotra, who found already in Yemen Christians of a type strange to his Greek customs, built three more great churches. He was bitterly opposed by the Jews ; but his success was considerable, and presently four bishops were appointed, while the king himself is said to have been converted. Medina yielded a few disciples, and several tribes gave in their adhesion,

notably in the centre. On the other hand, the kingdom was weakened, the pagans of the centre became independent, and about 400 A.D. the Qur'aysh clan secured the keys of the great idol temple at Mecca, the Ka'aba, among whose hundreds of statues were said to be those of Christ and of the Virgin.

Before the next century closed, a great immigration of Egyptian monks strengthened and modified the Abyssinian Christianity. An alphabet was formed for the Ethiopic tongue, and the Scriptures were rendered into it. Despite all later changes, public worship in the highlands is still performed in this most ancient of Semitic languages, and modern travellers say this is nearly all the Christianity to be found there.

Between Abyssinia and Egypt the Negro race had pushed from the desert down to the Nile, and the great Theodore of Constantinople sent the first mission to the blacks, by whom the Nubian king was baptized; and so the foundations of Christianity were laid, not to be obliterated for seven centuries.

There was a reaction in Yemen when a Jewish proselyte became king and entered on a furious persecution. Thousands of Christians, even boys and girls, were speared or burned alive in huge pits, while the villages were plundered. The Abyssinians met force with force, and presently new churches and new bishops arose under a Christian king. Missions were undertaken, by persuasion and force winning both Jews and pagans, and a grand cathedral was built at Sana. The king proclaimed that

pilgrimages to Mecca must cease, and that henceforth Sana would be the capital for all purposes, even for religion. That night an indignant pagan defiled the altar and the cross, whereon the king vowed to destroy the idol temple at Mecca. But his army was entrapped in a defile and grievously defeated, and the progress of Christianity was effectually stopped.

We hear, indeed, that other means were adopted ; that one bishop regularly attended the annual Eisteddfods, and preached constantly in the open air ; that a convert from the Qur'aysh translated the Gospels into Arabic : but the kingdom of Yemen drooped, and presently passed nominally under the power of the Persian Zoroastrians, while in practice Arabia lapsed into anarchy.

Consider now the condition of Mecca, the rival centre. It was a town whose dwellers were more cultivated and more debased than the nomads. The Arabic language is on all hands admitted to be most beautiful, and it was here highly developed. Poetry was greatly esteemed, and seven classics were ornamentally written out and suspended in the temple. Writing was such a common accomplishment that captive Meccans were able to ransom themselves by teaching ten pupils each how to read and write. But as often happens at a centre of pilgrimage, real faith was rare, and there was little attachment to the idols, only to the profits derivable from the pilgrims. And many earnest men had arisen in all parts who rejected polytheism and were worshipping quietly One God.

One such man was called Muhammad, a member of the

Qur'aysh, the aristocratic clan which held the keys of the temple ; being early orphaned, he grew up illiterate, and to the end of his days could not read or write, or even speak grammatically, as the Qur'ân occasionally shows. Travelling with business caravans, he saw something of Christian Arabs and Syrians on the frontiers of the Greek Empire, and more of the Christian monks in the desert. Nearer at hand he saw much of the Jews, who formed little self-governing communities. Conceiving a scorn of the polytheism and idolatry prevailing, he presently started preaching against it. For long he proved that a prophet has no honour in his own country, and many of his adherents fled to the Christian realm of Abyssinia. At length he found a friendly refuge at Medina, and his moral authority grew so rapidly that he became judge and ruler. Failing to win the submission of the Jews, or their recognition of him as a prophet, he ceased compromising with them, and subdued them perforce. Then he felt strong enough to attack the Meccans, and at length reduced them under his power. With them he did compromise, and agreed to retain that city as the religious centre, preserving many of the old heathen customs, though the idols were utterly destroyed. The plunder from his victories gained many adherents to his system, which was now both religious and political ; and besides the nucleus of those who heartily adopted his prophetic claims, the whole of Arabia flocked to his standard, and he felt confident enough to summon the rulers of the great empires to adopt Islam. Though at his death there was

defection, yet capture of the rich towns restored allegiance. Then came a conflict between the religious party and the political ; the former won a great point in publishing a standard edition of the prophecies of Muhammad, henceforth accepted as the absolute authority for Islam ; but on the whole the theocracy failed, and the worldly lust of power came to the front. So within forty years from the flight of Muhammad to Medina, the progress of Christianity in Western Asia and in Northern Africa was at an end, and the new religion was consolidated and spreading fast.

3. EXTINCTION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE NORTH

One of that saintly, murderous brood,
To carnage and the Koran given,
Who think through unbelievers' blood
Lies their directest path to heaven.
One who will pause and kneel unshod
In the warm blood his hand hath poured
To mutter o'er some text of God
Engraven on his reeking sword.

MOORE.

When the armies of Islam came to Egypt, they found a ready welcome from the native Copts, who resented the tyranny of the Greeks. The conquest was complete in six years, and there came into play one of the great attractions of the new faith. The moment a subject adopted Islam, not only was he exempt from paying tribute, which indeed was balanced by an obligation to pay the poor-rate, but he found himself a member of a brotherhood, a ruling

race. All signs of degradation were removed ; there might be a subscription to start the new convert, if he were poor ; freedom was at once granted to intermarry with all Muslims, and the way was open to all power and office. On the other side the Muslim yoke proved heavier than the Greek, and was frequently made weightier still ; branding on the hand was introduced, and persecutions of this kind have twice produced thousands of converts.

The speed with which the Copts adopted the faith of Islam can only be compared with the speed with which they had adopted Christianity. Of course the Greek State Church practically vanished at once, while on the other hand the Persian variety of Christianity made its appearance ; but all power and culture passed rapidly to the Arabs, and the Copts within a century were given the option of conversion or banishment. If this was not steadily enforced, they were in the minority within another century, and the country people began to pass over wholesale. All too late they were driven to recognise that their vanishing faith could only be conserved if they took over the tongue of their rulers, a measure adopted more promptly by the Jews. Nor are cases wanting when with this lever they actually won over Muslims to Christianity. Then came a terrific reaction, when thirty thousand churches were demolished. Even in this extremity the Christians kept up worship in their houses, and after nine years the persecution slackened ; while the mad Caliph actually gave leave to rebuild the churches, and restored the endowments. But the Crusades caused a revival of

hatred, and the Muslims burned the old Christian capital of Babylon, the stronghold of the old national faith ; its monastery alone remains, at the south of the new Muslim capital of Cairo. The transfer to the Muslims of the guardianship of the Nilometer alongside it, was another sign that nationality and faith were broken. From 1200 A.D. the New Testament was read in a bilingual, and the ancient Coptic is now extinct. Quarrels now arose in the declining Church ; once for twenty years no Patriarch was appointed, and for want of one, bishops died out in many places, and whole districts went over to Islam. Next century there were fierce religious riots, with the usual results, more destruction of churches, more conversions to Islam. The story can be gleaned from Muir's *Early Caliphate* and his *Mameluke Dynasty of Egypt*.

In a sense the land retains its old position as a religious country. When Ephesus was sacked in 262 A.D., Alexandria stood out as the most learned city. To-day the culture of the Muslim world is almost centred in Egypt. Every village mosque has a school attached, and the system leads up to Cairo, where the great mosque is the home of a university older than Oxford, frequented by thousands of students, many of whom are deliberately training to be missionaries of Islam. Once the Nile valley was the home of thousands of Christian monks ; to-day they have practically vanished. Were it not for the immigration of foreigners, Christianity would be almost contemptible ; and despite the predominance of France and of England in

recent years, Egypt is still one of the Muslim strongholds. More than 92 per cent. of the people are Muhammadan, and the few Christians represent nine varieties of ancient Churches, besides adherents of modern Protestant missions. The native Church of Egypt has shrivelled up till there are but ten bishoprics and a few hundred thousand Copts left under a Patriarch at Cairo. And since the bishops are always drawn from the monasteries, where learning is rare, there seem great difficulties in the way of rejuvenating what was once a wonder of the Christian world.

Higher up the Nile beyond Egypt proper, lies Nubia. Here the Christians were isolated and withered away; by 1520 A.D. no clergy were left, and quarrels of jurisdiction prevented others being sent from Abyssinia. The churches were closed, and the population has long been Muslim. One bishop remains, at Khartum, with only seven churches in his diocese. This district was the headquarters of the Mahdi's movement, and so strong is Muslim feeling that the British Government has only allowed Christian missions with great reluctance. Indeed, it is one of the remarkable factors in considering Islam, that even when Christians rule, special consideration is usually shown to Muslims, a preference complained of from every field. The same phenomenon is witnessed in England with Roman Catholics; and it suggests that where there is a large religious organisation on an international scale, accustomed to play an active part in politics, it inspires a sort of fear in mere national governments, which concede unfair preferential treatment.

At the head of the Blue Nile is the mountain realm of

Abyssinia. An attempt of the Latins to capture its Church failed by a revolution in 1633 A.D.; twelve years later a Lutheran translated the New Testament into the modern tongue, but since then the native Church has gone its own way. The Christianity is a strange compound with heathenism and Judaism, and the missionary fervour has quite died out. Indeed, the Muslims boast that since 1850 A.D. all political power lies with them, and that a mass movement of the people away from Christianity is very probable. But this is expressly contradicted by Noble. Certainly no attempt is being made from Europe to educate or influence the natives, for the Swedish missionaries are not allowed to advance beyond the Italian coastal strip, while knowledge of the ancient ritual language is really confined to twelve thousand monks.

The northern littoral between Egypt and Tunis fell under Muslim influence quickly and uneventfully; and Cyrene, which had furnished a Simon to bear the cross, and a Lucius to be one of the first heralds of the cross, passed out of Christian history. Then in the old Roman districts of Africa and Numidia, where four sects had quarrelled and weakened one another, hatred of the Greek tyranny united all four in a welcome to the Muhammadans as deliverers. By 700 A.D. Carthage was in their power, and Christianity was doomed to stagnation. Indeed, within sixty years, the governor reported to the Caliph that the tribute of infidels had ceased, as all were converted—a statement that a careful auditor of accounts might have questioned as premature.

Here first did Muslims meet Arian Christianity, which denies to Christ full Godhead. Since they themselves are prepared to honour Isa bin Miriam as the last and greatest of the prophets before Muhammad, it would seem that the transition of the Vandals and Goths to Islam was thus facilitated.

And whereas the Berbers had received little attention from Christians, it is mortifying that within eight years after the Berber state was crushed, the army of twelve thousand Muslims who sailed to conquer Spain was composed of Berbers, whose general Tāriq himself was a new convert. Great efforts were made to read and expound the Qur'ân, and to teach the duties of Islam. Even into France the Muslim armies swept, "slaying and taking captive, pulling down churches and breaking up their bells." Not till they reached the Loire were they beaten back by the Catholic Franks, and Christendom breathed again.

Within the subjugated lands, the Churches did not succumb utterly and at once, but there was steady decline; it is said that again and again revolts occurred, and a Muslim historian says that fourteen of these were accompanied with return to Christianity: but these never succeeded, and about 800 A.D. there was fierce retaliation and forced conversion. Christianity might indeed have regained an open field by Norman conquest and destruction of Muslim domination, but that in the eleventh century began a series of Arab invasions from Egypt which revived Islam and led to the first of the African Mahdis.

When Iceland was accepting Christianity, and Olaf was being worsted in his Norse crusade, only forty bishops were left in North Africa. When the Poles were giving to the Pomeranians the choice of baptism or death, simply the Archbishop of Carthage remained. That roused the Pope to send new helpers, and a fresh lease of life was given to the martyr Church for five hundred years. But under Muslim rule our faith is doomed to mere existence at the best, all propagation being forbidden. Nor can we wonder if when Ferdinand and Isabella drove out all Muslims from Spain, a deliberate attempt was made to exterminate Christians in Africa. We can but marvel at the tenacity shown by the Bishop of Morocco and his faithful Kabyles down to this time, and sigh as we remember that the last glimpse is when, about 1550 A.D., some tribes in the Atlas were observing Christian rites, and some of them were mustered to be bodyguard of the Sultan of Tunis. It is the more mortifying when we reflect that where Christianity is extinct, the Jews have continued to live on and be true to their faith, resisting alike the oppression of their rulers, and the efforts of Christian missionaries. With the appearance of the Turks in 1583 A.D., the last vestiges of the Church of Tertullian and Augustine vanished away.

During the last century the situation has slightly changed, for Algeria and Tunis have passed under French rule, and mission work therefore is legally possible, but it is chiefly engaged in by Catholics. And Morocco is now a hotbed of Muslim fanaticism. Even the brave Franciscans

have long ceased to dare direct work on the Muhammadans, and the Protestants who for the last twenty years have entered, find it wise to sap and mine by Bible distribution and Medical Missions.

4. THE RIVAL MISSIONS TO THE BLACKS

Is there, as you sometimes tell us,
Is there One who reigns on high ?
Has He bid you buy and sell us,
Speaking from His throne, the sky ?
Ask Him, if your knotted scourges,
Matches, blood-extorting screws,
Are the means that duty urges
Agents of His will to use ?

COWPER.

He comes with succour speedy
To those who suffer wrong ;
To help the poor and needy,
And bid the weak be strong ;
To give them songs for sighing,
Their darkness turn to light,
Whose souls, condemned and dying,
Were precious in His sight.

MONTGOMERY.

Except for the North coast and the Nile valley, Africa is the home of three races, all low in the scale of civilisation and religion. A few tribes in the South, notably the Bechuanas, have an elaborate totem system ; near them are the aboriginal Hottentots. The Bantu negroids of the Zambesi and Congo basins and the East coast are addicted to ancestor worship. The Sudanese negroes,

whose strength is in the Niger basin, affect nature worship, taking objects at random as their fetishes.

The crusades of King Louis in Tunis and Egypt fired the Muslims to propagate their faith ; and the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw them penetrate to the desert, winning the Sahara for Muhammad, Timbuktu being an early and powerful centre in the West. It was the fifteenth century when Christians began creeping down the West coast beyond the Canary Islands. The pioneers were the Portuguese, lately freed from Arab dominion, and now following in Arab tracks. Prince Henry the Navigator was urged in his explorations by a distinctly missionary motive. Finding that captive Moors were inaccessible to the Gospel, he allowed them to ransom themselves by sending instead black slaves whom he trained as missionaries ; by 1444 A.D. a slave trade was started with this motive. Before the century closed, a mission to the Congo had won the king, and established two negro bishops near Stanley Pool. But though another mission settled at the mouth of the Zambesi, the slave trade developed fast under the patronage of the bishops, and when the riches of India, China, Mexico, and Peru presently distracted attention from Africa, the slave trade continued, but the Christianising movement died out, without any stable native Church being founded. The Spaniards led the way in transporting negroes to the West Indies, but did nothing to lead them to Christ. Nor did the Dutch do more at the extreme South, and the impulse came at length, as to Paul in Troas. A negro from the Danish

West Indies met Zinzendorf at Copenhagen, and bewailed the lot of his enslaved countrymen. Going on to Herrnhut, he had the honour of awakening the Moravians to their missionary career. They soon passed on to Jamaica and South Carolina; and this overleaping of civil boundaries is to be noted, for it is the modern revival of the idea of foreign missions. Before the century closed, the blacks in Africa shared the blessing, and during the last hundred years all sects and nations have claimed the privilege of sending the Gospel.

Within the last twenty years the situation has changed again, by a general opening up of the whole continent to knowledge; by the European Powers agreeing on their spheres of influence; and by the great immigration into the colonies of the South. Here is now to be found a white population not to be neglected, with Dutch and English Bibles, and with far less of the former opposition to missions, though there is some suspicion and dread of "Ethiopianism" or the formation of a purely native Church.

But the interest centres in the tropics, where the whites are still casual visitors, who have frequently to return home to recruit their health, and who can never hope to live permanently except on a few plateaus. Here is the battlefield of Islam and Christianity.

Of the lower races which have no stable organised religion, far the greater number are in Africa, and they are disposed to lend a favouring ear to missionaries who can civilise or teach them. Islam is wide awake to the

situation, and Christendom is awakening. While the problems presented in Asia are vast from their importance, the problem in Africa is urgent from the critical situation and the huge masses that may be won or lost for Christ.

We have to remember that the rival missions are both handicapped by the evil deeds of mere nominal professors of religion. Africa has been exploited for centuries by the white races, and the slavers have called themselves indifferently Muhammadan and Christian : in the pursuit of ivory the Muhammadans have done more evil, in the pursuit of rubber the Christians. The name of Muhammad is in worse odour on the East coast where better known, the name of Christian on the West, for the same reason : and therefore the Muhammadans are winning their greatest successes on the Gold and Guinea coasts ; the Christians in the kingdom of Uganda.

Let us see what Islam really has to offer at the present time to the blacks—remembering that the African Islam of to-day is not the Islam of Muhammad, any more than the American Christianity of to-day is the Christianity of Christ ; both have tacitly ignored some aspects of their founder's teaching, and have taken up much from the experience of centuries. To do this we must first appreciate to some extent the Qur'ân, the Bible of Islam.

The watchword of Islam's creed was : " There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His prophet." As prophet he gave out various revelations, which after his death were gathered into one volume rather shorter than the

New Testament, and this Qur'ân is regarded as the one perfectly inspired book, an exact earthly copy of an eternal and uncreated original in heaven.

As against the previous heathendom of Arabia, Muhammad made some great points, forbidding idolatry, wine, gambling, divining, slaying of infant daughters ; but he took over many existing practices, simply purging them of their worst elements, such as circumcision, ceremonial cleanliness and diet, polygamy, slavery, pilgrimage, ceremonial at Mecca, including sacrifice, offering of hair, casting stones, etc.

Then from the loftier Sabian system he borrowed the practices of fasting for thirty days, of swearing by sun and moon, of perambulating round the temple seven times.

From the Jews who were so strong at Medina he learned much in the way of legend, which comes out in the Qur'ân. Stories about Cain learning from a raven how to bury Abel ; about Abraham breaking the idols and lying about it, and being preserved from Nimrod's fire ; about the Mount Sinai being lifted up like a canopy at the giving of the Law ; about the Queen of Sheba being carried to Solomon by a giant Jinn ; about sorcery taught by two angels—these are specimens of what the Jews regard as mere fables, but what the Muhammadans accept as verbally inspired truth. Grant that these are perhaps excrescences, and that, if they were removed, Islam would be the same. But the very core of his system is also Jewish ; from Judaism he learned the Unity of God, the Resurrection and the Judgement ; by Jews he was in-

fluenced in his laws for prayer, for purification, and for alms. Indeed, some regard this element as so important that they term Islam a revised Judaism.

From apocryphal gospels about Christ, Muhammad gained strange notions, and the Qur'ân has much to say about the Virgin Mary in her childhood and early married life, though she is confused with her namesake Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron. Tales are told about the infancy of our Lord, but very little of His life; we can recognise the Docetic fancy that Christ was taken up to God before the Crucifixion, and only a likeness was left to be slain. The promise of the Paraclete was distorted by a misreading into a promise that Muhammad should come. And from the old Egyptian Book of the Dead, through a Coptic Testament of Abraham, the sort of story that Mary the Coptic slave of Muhammad would revel in, he learned about the balance in which the heart of each man is weighed against truth, to determine his future—and into the Qur'ân it went. Then the legend of the Christian Sleepers at Ephesus was adapted, and they were made Muslim, while reference to Christians on the matter was expressly forbidden.

From the Persians who nominally ruled Arabia in his early days, Muhammad learned congenial themes. Centuries before he was transported in one night on a celestial steed from Mecca to Jerusalem, a Zoroastrian book told of a similar adventure of a Persian reformer. The whole idea of Paradise and its *peris*, to captivate the heart of men, was taken over bodily into the Muslim future,

and even the detail of the razor bridge to heaven comes hence.

In view of this Higher Criticism of the sources of the Qur'ân, it were easy to despise it as a thing of shreds and patches. But Higher Criticism often blinds its devotees to the present value of a book or of a system. The constitution of the United States of America has hardly an original line in it, all is borrowed ; yet who doubts that it was chosen with care and pieced together into a very working and harmonious whole ? By this time, the Muslim system has worked for twelve centuries, and has learned how to adapt itself to the peoples it approaches. Our concern now is to note its application to Africa. We may look first at the content of the message, its gospel ; then at the way its message is delivered, its missionaries.

First, Islam comes with the news of one God, and teaches that all the burdensome worship of fetishes is to be abandoned. This does away with a nightmare of witchcraft, and must be a veritable gospel to all but the witch-doctors and the juju priests whose occupation is gone. And this God is not utterly aloof ; however long He has winked at times of ignorance, He sent a series of messengers with revelations of His will growing ever clearer and clearer, until the message for this age was delivered now nearly thirteen hundred years ago, while there is constant expectation, nowhere more keen than in Africa, that He will again break silence and speak by a Mahdi. However mysterious are His ways, He is

compassionate, and He enjoins that His votaries approach Him five times a day in prayer.

Now in all these respects we can fully appreciate the attractiveness of the news, and its truth. When we look more closely to realise the point where our message differs, we see that the character of the Muslim God is vague, and, where distinct, is repulsive. Palgrave describes the doctrine as the pantheism of force, and the Muslim God as a jealous sterile autocrat. If this is so, we see that we can add several features in our presentation that should be far more attractive. We know something of the justice of God, evinced in His hatred for sin and His desire for holiness in His creatures ; something of the love of God, shown especially in one great historic event, the gift of a Saviour. We know of the helpfulness of God, who constantly answers prayer—prayer for daily varying needs, not in stereotyped forms for mere general wants, but for definite gifts. The God of Islam is a God of the past and of the future ; He did speak, He will speak and judge ; our God is also a God of the present, who does love and hear and answer and help. And herein the message of Islam is radically deficient ; for it can but counsel submission to the inscrutable will of God, and thus is a moral agnosticism.

Then Muhammad said that this God tolerated no intermediary between Himself and the true believer. He denied the right of any priest to intervene. Herein we can see the immense value of the work he did, which largely remains. But the mind of man seems unable to

rest in the thought that we may approach God absolutely direct ; even a Christian poet inquires :—

Oh, how shall I, whose native sphere
Is dark, whose mind is dim,
Before the Ineffable appear,
And on my naked spirit bear
The uncreated beam ?

Therefore a general worship of saints has arisen all over Islam, and in practice these receive much attention and many requests for help and intercession. Whether they were real and eminent men, whether ancient gods taken over, or mere figments of imagination presiding at ancient seats of paganism, there the Muslim saints are, and constant pilgrimages are made to their shrines for aid. We are thoroughly familiar with this failing of the race ; Greek and Latin Christianity are equally tainted with it, so that the Roman Catholic missionaries dealing with Muslims find themselves constantly at a loss, and have to defend themselves against a charge of idolatry rather than attack Islam. But we who take our stand on the Bible alone can announce, without fearing that our message is belied by our deeds, that no one cometh unto the Father except through Jesus Christ, that there is one Mediator between God and man, Himself Man, and that He shares this glory with none other. Herein the deep craving of the heart for some peace-maker is frankly met, and the limits of mediation are sharply cut. And whereas the thought of sin is also present in many hearts, and the sense that punishment is merited, the message of Islam

here is unsatisfying; while Christianity has the Gospel that the Mediator is the Sin-Bearer of the world, which is able to allay the troubled conscience.

Look next at the outward observances of religion. Islam says that religion is to permeate the whole life, that prayer is a duty as well as a privilege, and that nothing is to interfere with its punctual performance; and religion is a social thing, so that once a week there is to be united prayer, with possibly preaching to follow. But this is only the beginning, so that the day of a pious Muslim is ordered throughout by a religious code, based on Judaism and developed by tradition. In that storehouse of Muslim customs, the *Arabian Nights*, three or four whole nights were occupied simply in outlining the scheme of customary observances. If Peter groaned under the yoke which he and his fathers were unable to bear, the Muslim proselyte may well be aghast, and feel that, if his pagan priests chastised him with whips, he is now threatened with scorpions. In contrast with this we may boldly assert that the yoke of Christ is easy, and His burden light.

The Law of Islam is indeed elevated as contrasted with paganism. We may say about most of it what Paul said of its source, the Law of Moses, "the Law is holy and just and good." It condemns much that is evil, it commends much that is praiseworthy. But it has serious limitations. It can educate up to a certain point, and then leaves; it leads out of the flood of heathenism on to higher land, which proves to be only an island with narrow resources. It does not even pretend to supply motive power, only

to sketch an ideal ; and while the ideal is really low, it yet is too high for many to persevere towards in their own strength. As Paul put it, the Law reveals the innate sinfulness of man, but does nothing to cure it. Worse than that, it is outward, not inward ; a Muslim is invited to conform by sheer force of will, but has to secure his driving force outside the Law. Now as against all this system, the Christian missionary can say : " Law is made for bad men, not for Christians ; if it has educated you up to the pitch of wishing for salvation, pardon, help, it can do no more. Christ can blot out sin ; Christ can supply the power you want ; Christ reveals a higher ideal of life, which will prove more attractive the nearer you come to realising it : the life of a Christian is indeed a servitude to Christ, but as compared to the life of a Muslim, it is perfect freedom."

If so far we feel that the message of the Christian missionary is as winsome as that of the Muslim, what about the moral demands made on the convert ? The code of Muhammad is high, but inelastic ; he forbade wine, but knowing nothing of spirits, did not forbid them, and many expositors permit their use. The Christian has no elaborate code, but offers three tests : " Does this harm you ? does it offer a temptation to your neighbour ? is your conscience quite clear as to its use ? " Or, consider the much debated question of sexual relations : Muhammad introduced a reform by drawing the line at four wives, with facilities for divorce, and unlimited concubines. And quite possibly his message still finds tribes to whom

that may be a restriction. But too often it comes as a degradation of an ideal already known, and absolutely lowers the tone of previous morals. And if it be claimed that at least it averts the "social evil," it must be plainly asserted that it does no such thing, as readers of Arabic literature and travellers in Muslim lands know well. And under Muslim tolerance there has grown up an awful system of worse vice, not to be dilated on.

When we compare the ideal demands made, the Christian standard shows no compromise for the hardness of men's hearts, but is plain and simple. But of sin and holiness Muhammad had no conception. He himself violated the customs of his own times without scruple, robbing pilgrims, approving the assassination of women, marrying a widow within three days, contracting an incestuous marriage with his daughter-in-law. Two of these breaches of morality he justified by producing new revelations to justify! He could not even obey the very laws he promulgated; and instead of four wives he had ten, besides negotiating for thirty others. What sense of sin was there in such a man? And what can be expected from his followers?

Then look at the social message of Islam. Professor Arnold asserts that "as soon as the pagan negro, however obscure or degraded, shows himself willing to accept the teachings of the prophet, he is at once admitted as an equal into" the society of all the brotherhood of Islam. Now in the Muslim world of India, this equality may be true in theory, and on this hope a low-caste Hindu

or an out-caste aboriginal has a great social inducement to adopt Islam: but he is likely to find that in practice the strata of society are well marked, even within the brotherhood.¹ For the early days, one of the first authorities on Islam, Sir William Muir, declares that, "in point of fact, the equality was limited to the Arab nation; the right of any brother of alien race was but a dole of food sufficient for subsistence, and no more. . . . The progeny of the Arab sire (whatever the mother) was kept sedulously apart so as never to mingle with the conquered races. . . . Subject peoples, even if they embraced Islam, were of a lower caste. . . . Arab ladies as a rule married only Arab husbands. . . . The brotherhood of Islam was confined to the Arab race, and with its dominancy disappeared."² And a detailed story is given of how, at the sack of Mosul, in the year 749 A.D., four thousand Muslim negroes in the conquering army were massacred for fancying that they were free to consort with Arab women.

If that refer to the past, hear an English statesman of thirty years ago speak as to the message of a modern Muslim missionary: "He can not only give them many truths regarding God and man which make their way to the heart and elevate the intellect, but he can at once communicate the shibboleth of admission to a social and political communion which is a passport for protection and assistance from the Atlantic to the wall of China.

¹ *Census Report of India*, vol. i. part i. p. 543.

² Muir, *Caliphate*, pp. 160-162, 606, 443.

Wherever a Muslim house can be found, there the negro convert who can repeat the dozen syllables of his creed is sure of shelter, sustenance and advice; and in his own country he finds himself at once a member of an influential, if not of a dominant caste. This seems the real secret of the success of the Muslim mission in West Africa. It is great and rapid as regards number, for the simple reason that the Muslim missionary, from the very first profession of the convert's belief, acts practically on those principles regarding the equality and brotherhood of all believers before God, which Islam shares with Christianity."

With Sir Bartle Frere agrees another observer, who emphasises that neither colour nor race prejudices a negro in any way in the eyes of his new co-religionists. Muhammad fancied from the story of Moses' hand becoming white that he was a negro, and he himself took a negro as his constant personal attendant. Hear also a negro on the difference of the two missions to his people: "While Christian missions put off indefinitely the establishment of a native pastorate, the Muslim priests penetrate into Africa, find ready access to the pagans, and win them for Islam. The result is that the negroes to-day regard Islam as the religion for blacks, and Christianity as that for whites. Christianity, say they, certainly invites the negro to salvation, but assigns him a place so low that he is discouraged, and says, I have no part nor lot in this affair. Islam calls the negro to salvation and says to him, It depends simply on yourself to climb

as high as possible. So the enthusiastic negro gives himself body and soul to serve this religion.”¹

The area where blacks and whites meet is not great; but if the colour line is really obliterated, the Muslim has a great advantage not possessed by the Christian missionary. Yet the most recent books on Islam, reporting a conference at Cairo attended by representatives of every Muslim field, are absolutely silent on this point; and it may perhaps be inferred that no great advantage is really experienced. Indeed, the lot of women is not enviable among Muslims. A pagan negress has no special disability as compared with her negro husband. But if Islam comes to the village she finds herself at once thrust into seclusion and suspected; her husband may have opened to him a career of travel and learning—she is a prisoner, and kept ignorant as a child. Here Christianity can come with great opportunity.

Examine the ecclesiastical system of Islam. Muhammad prided himself on the liberty into which he called his followers, freeing them from the tyranny of priesthood. But he himself laid the foundations of an equally objectionable tyranny, or rather he took it over from the Jews, ready built. They had their scribes, their rabbis, who in our Lord's day were powerful enough to contest the leadership of the priests, and who saw the power of those priests disappear in a generation. Then they went on developing their traditions about the Law, till the really influential and ruling literature of the Jews is not the

¹ *Journal des Missions Evangeliques Paris*, 1888, p. 207.

Law, but the Mishna and the Talmud, the sediment of traditional exposition. Exactly the same thing has happened in Muhammad's revised version of Judaism. What is the good of boasting that no priests exist, if authorised expositors of the Law thrust in on every hand? Granted that a Muslim may pray alone, may marry, bury, so the enthusiasts of Islam pride themselves; but he dare not think for himself, interpret the Qur'ân for himself; no Catholic can be bound by straiter bonds than is he. And wherein is the negro benefited if he exchange the tyranny of medicine-man and priest for the tyranny of mullah and law-student? Now the Catholic missionary, indeed, has nothing better to offer; but a Protestant at least does not fear to translate the Bible into any dialect the poor pagan can understand, and put it into his hand for himself to interpret and act upon. And more than one missionary has owned that the untutored African has instantly accepted and acted on commands that the sophisticated conscience of Europe has discarded, and so has opened up anew the value of God's promises.

Quit now this whole subject, what Islam offers and demands, and consider another important point: How the message is delivered—missionary methods.

Two have been tried by Muslim and Christian alike, Force, and Persuasion. At the present day force is nearly obsolete in Africa. Outside Morocco hardly an acre is under purely Muslim rule, and no Christian Power uses the arm of the State to propagate Christianity. We

have therefore to consider only the peaceful methods employed. Islam has three principal sets of agents : traders to leaven the towns, professional missionaries, schoolmasters.

Every mosque in Africa has its school attached ; all education is distinctly religious, designed to confirm in the faith and to lay the foundation for a subsequent theological or missionary training in special cases. Everywhere the Qur'ân is the text-book, and all learning is grafted on to it in some way—much as the ignorant mediæval monks went to the Latin Bible for their astronomy and geography, not to the professional astronomers of the East, or the text-books of Ptolemy and Hipparchus ; till a learned Irish missionary of the ninth century, teaching that the earth was a globe, was rudely rebuked as a heretic by an ignorant Pope. Still, even the Qur'ân offers information to the African negro, and its arrival marks a rise in the social scale. This is markedly to be seen on the Guinea coast, where for four centuries the natives have known Christians chiefly as slavers. Their state is degraded in the extreme, and Christian traders have worsened it by their offer of spirits and gunpowder. But passing from the coast a little inland, a civilising influence is met, the tribes seem to be self-respecting, clothed, and in their right minds : Islam has come to them.

It is of course to be said that Christian missionaries have been at work educationally as in other ways. But Warneck says that our subjects of instruction are too many, and the aims too high, while the almost exclusive

use of English perverts and denationalises the people. In contrast with this, the Muslim, with a lower ideal, generally attains it. And we have to regret that the quality of the Christian converts is decidedly poor; when Guinea Christians were taken to the Congo to help to inaugurate a new mission, it proved to the advantage of the work to return them speedily. So it would appear that in our educational policy we absolutely have something to learn from the Muslim.

It will be asked, Who first breaks the ground for Islam? The answer is, the Muslim trader and settler. The European trader on the coast is seldom viewed in a missionary light, and seldom deserves to be. But the Muslim trader is of another stamp; see an ideal picture of his doings drawn by T. W. Arnold. His very profession brings him into close and immediate contact with those he would convert, and disarms any possible suspicion of sinister motives. Such a man, when he enters a pagan village, soon attracts attention by his frequent ablutions and regularly recurring times of prayer and prostration in which he appears to be conversing with some invisible being; and by his very assumption of intelligence and moral superiority he commands the respect and confidence of the heathen people, to whom at the same time he shows himself ready and willing to communicate his high principles and knowledge. He teaches the people new songs in which his doctrines and practices are insinuated. He marries freely, and begets, perhaps, even more freely, and all his children are trained in his faith. And so before

long the way is paved for the amateur to call in the professional missionary. While this picture is quite probably overcoloured, it strikes us as most attractive and most possible. Indeed, we know that in some respects this is the way in which our own faith spread throughout the Roman Empire for more than a century.

But now we must observe the wholesale training of men who are to be professional missionaries, devoting their whole lives deliberately to the spread of Islam. Of these there are two sorts, the university men from Cairo, the seminary men from the desert.

At the great mosque in Cairo is a Muslim university, to which students flock from all the Muhammadan world, including Africa. An enthusiast claimed that in 1884 more than twelve thousand men were on the rolls ; but a cold-blooded cyclopædia says that this number includes all the affiliated training colleges and professional schools, so that only about two thousand are really in attendance. From the hundreds who graduate hence every year, instructed in the Qur'ân, grammar, prosody, caligraphy, history, arithmetic, algebra, and above all in commentary and traditions, many go back to spread their faith.

A more modern movement is outranking this plan. Seventy years ago it originated in Morocco, and after being for awhile centred at Jaghbub, in Tripoli, it is now directed from the oasis of Kufra, more to the south, whence the Sahara is in reality ruled. A deliberate attempt is being made to undo all reform of Islam by internal evolution, and to resist any change from without ; and the programme

is to extend the old original doctrine of the prophet, by peaceful means, if these suffice, but if not, by any means. Strange to say, the objections of the prophet to monasticism have been toned down, and a community life is adopted. "Convents of the order are to be found not only all over the north of Africa from Egypt to Morocco, throughout the Sudan, in Senegambia and Somaliland, but members of the order are to be found also in Arabia, Mesopotamia, and the islands of the Malay archipelago." All adherents are expected to give a part of their income to the funds of the society, and many devote themselves entirely to the reform and propagation of Islam. More than a hundred and twenty seminaries exist, and from the largest hundreds of missionaries go forth yearly to spread the original teaching of Muhammad, and to incite to absolute cessation of intercourse with all Jews and Christians. Slaves are often bought from a pagan tribe, trained, and sent back to win their people. An annual Chapter is held at which progress is reported and new plans are laid.

This movement is one of the most important of modern days, quite as marked as the rise of Protestant missions some forty years earlier, and apparently almost as successful. To consider the religious prospects of the world without studying this and gauging its future, is to eliminate one of the chief factors. And we have to consider with deep regret that this arose and developed on what was once Christian ground; that if Christians had not split into many sects, hating one another, Islam never would have found an

entrance to this land of religious enthusiasm, and the energy now spent in its cause might have been used for Christ.

We must confess when we hear of this movement that missionary zeal is intense, and that the Student Volunteer Missionary Union is quite belated in comparison with Islam. Consider that many of these are white Muslims—Moors if you will, but not Negroes—and that they have to cross the desert for their work among a lower race. Their devotion may put us to shame. How few of our seminaries put foreign missions in the very forefront of their purpose ! Yet with these Sanusis every one of their colleges is such a foreign missionary seminary ; and twenty years ago a German traveller declared that from Tripoli alone more than a thousand workers go annually. Sell avers that the Muslim is always proud of his religion, proud to spread it. Even the Christian missionary may at times adopt an apologetic attitude for his faith and his calling ; but the Christian trader is not habitually proud of his creed, and therein we can see one great source of weakness.

The problem of Africa thus proves to be mainly the problem of Islam. The low pagan religions have no power of resistance, and the question of their future may almost be reduced to the alternative, Shall they become Muslim or Christian ? Of course, here as elsewhere, it is true that they deeply colour the religion that supplants them ; that African Islam is not the faith of Muhammad, and Ethiopianism is not the primitive Gospel of Christ. But waiving this

point, and viewing the great rival missions, we have to ask as to their relative position, the statics of the problem ; and as to their relative progress, the dynamics of the problem.

The actual state of things is disconcerting in the extreme. If the total population of Africa be estimated at 164 millions, according to the *Statesman's Yearbook* for 1905, we find from the Cairo Conference of 1906 that the Muslim share is about 59 millions, or 36 per cent. of the whole. The estimates for the African Churches in Egypt and Abyssinia vary widely ; taking the most sanguine, that of Professor Schmidt, they have not 10 millions, while the Catholic and Protestant Churches add another five, all together about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Muslims outnumber Christians more than six to one.

How about the advance of the two faiths ? The Abyssinians and Copts may be simply ignored, for they make no effort at propagation. The progress of Catholics is not easy to state, but as Beach finds that the total constituency of Protestant missions is only 576,530 for ninety-five societies, we shall take a roseate view if we double this and say that 1,250,000 is the total under Christian influence. Over against this we hear from travellers that Islam is advancing constantly and rapidly in the West, and of whole nations being won over in a few years. Dr. W. R. Miller thinks that this progress is real and likely to increase, and warns us that "a peaceful Islam under British rule, free to proselytise while Christian missionaries are hampered, will be a greater power" than Islam under Pagan or Muslim rule. This leads us to the political

aspect. The Cairo Conference complained that European governments cringe to Muslim turbulence and arrogance, withholding fair play from Christian missions. It would seem that some observers think the Muslim force is not growing naturally, but has outside stimulus. More than three-quarters of the African Muslims are under the rule of France and Britain; and a Pan-Islam movement is growing, with more than the benevolent neutrality of Germany. The experience of the past shows that governments have never allowed religious considerations to check their plans for aggrandisement, and that Germany is no more scrupulous than have been others. Real Christian workers can but pray that this obstacle be not wantonly thrown in their path.

A land of dreams and sleep; a popped land!
With skies of endless calm above her head,
The drowsy warmth of summer noonday shed
Upon her hills, and silence stern and grand
Throughout her desert's temple-burying sand.
Respect the dream that builds her fallen throne,
And soothes her to oblivion of her woes.
Hush! for she does but sleep, she is not dead:
Action and Toil have made the world their own:
But she hath built an altar to Repose.

TAYLOR.

When over Niger's banks is breaking
Another century's morning star,
The newborn Phoenix, first awaking
Expands his purple pinions far!
He gazes, from the mountain towers
On which his ancient eyrie stands,
Towards east and west, o'er cinnamon towers
And o'er the desert's arid sands.

FREILIGRATH.

IV

EXPANSION IN AMERICA

Desire of every land ! the nations came
And worshipped at His feet, all nations came,
Flocking like doves : Columbia's painted tribes,
That from Magellan to the Frozen bay,
Beneath the Arctic, dwelt, and drank the tides
Of Amazona, prince of earthly streams ;
Or slept at noon beneath the giant shade
Of Andes' mount : or, roving northwards, heard
Niagara sing, from Erie's billow down
To Frontenac, and hunted thence the fur
To Labrador.

POLLOK.

Where the remote Bermudas ride,
In ocean's bosom unespied,
From a small boat that rowed along,
The listening winds received this song :—

“What should we do but sing His praise
That led us through the watery maze ?
And in these rocks for us did frame
A temple where to sound His name ?

Oh, let our voice His praise exalt
Till it arrive at Heaven's vault,
Which thence perhaps rebounding may
Echo beyond the Mexique bay.”

ANDREW MARVEL.

IV

Expansion in America

MISSIONS passed into a new phase with the fifteenth century. The ancient Church of Asia had been so stunned by the ravages of the Tatars and by the brutality of its Muslim overlords, that it lay in a comatose condition, and could not be looked to for renewed efforts. The Churches of Africa were all but extinct, again owing to the stern rule of Islam that propagandism was a capital crime. Only in Europe seemed there any hope, but here the remaining pagan nations were ranging themselves under the Cross, while in Spain the last crusades were driving forth the Moor with his Qur'ân. Thus an intense zeal for missions was developed, and no sooner was the Peninsula won for Christendom again, than the Spaniards found a new sphere open to them across the ocean. Instantly the Pope reminded them of their religious duties, and the famous Bull of 1493 A.D. enjoined the steady dispatch of missionaries to the natives.

The name of Bernard Boil, the Benedictine monk, deserves mention as the first apostle to the New World ; but the work soon fell into the hands of the friars, and at Darien a Franciscan became the first bishop. Already

they had a glorious record of mission work attempted among the Buddhists and Muslims and Confucians ; now they heroically went out to temper the greed of the soldiers of fortune, and to take the tidings of a Saviour to the races that had so long walked in darkness. A century and more passed before the Protestants followed feebly in their wake, and another before the United Brethren really entered the field. Thus the natives have had Christianity presented to them in various forms ; by Spanish, Portuguese, and French ; by English and Dutch ; by Moravians and Germans.

To North America the most important immigrants were English, and the leading religious motive that brought them was not to convert the native, but to find a refuge from persecution that they might worship God in their own way. In 1618 A.D. some members of a church in Southwark and Amsterdam settled in Chesapeake Bay ; a few years later some Nottingham men settled at Plymouth, and soon the coast was dotted with men eager to shake off the restraints of home, and begin afresh with the Bible in their hands.

Yet be it noted that tradition is too strong thus to be dismissed. As the yokes of Rome and Canterbury were broken, a new one forged at Geneva was gladly fitted on the neck. Only John Smyth had the courage to inveigh against the notes and glosses of the Genevan translation, and to plead that the original Scriptures alone should be the guide. Primitive Christianity was not reproduced, only a late type of European Christianity as remoulded by Calvin.

European Christianity alone survived, for the original Asiatic and the early African had disappeared. In the New World European Christianity of two leading types had a grand opportunity. The Roman type is the more interesting in its work among the aboriginal Amerinds ; the Teutonic type in its own evolution among white men transplanted into a new environment. These two themes can be studied separately.

I. MISSIONS TO NATIVES

On the western slope of these mountains

Dwells in his little village the Black Robe chief of the mission.

Much he teaches the people, and tells them of Mary and Jesus ;

Loud laugh their hearts with joy, and weep with pain, as they
hear him.

LONGFELLOW.

In the temperate zones we find two most splendid mission fields, which have been adorned by heroes of different nations. Our usual Church Histories are very reticent about mission matters ; Protestant histories are too often timid in dealing with the Middle Ages, and after the Reformation confine themselves largely to Protestant countries. So it happens that we are largely ignorant about Catholic propaganda after the fifteenth century ; and if we know little of the Jesuit at our side, we know really nothing of his achievements in the heathen world. His work in Europe has been so reactionary, that we hardly remember there was once a countervailing side abroad ; that men like Anchieta in Brazil were doing good work among the heathen which

deserves admiration and study. Of course, even at the beginning, Jesuit missions were not faultless; but we have met no faultless missions at all: it is also sadly true that some of these missions degenerated, and were marked by grave errors, which it will be our duty to note presently: but meanwhile let us not overlook the fact that in the first age of their existence, there were Jesuits whose missionary fervour and wisdom have drawn from a critic, generally hostile, the admission that when toiling among the teeming millions of Hindustan and China, labouring amongst the Hurons and Iroquois of North America, governing and civilising the natives of Brazil and Paraguay, the Jesuit appears alike devoted, indefatigable, cheerful, and worthy of hearty admiration and respect. From the evidence for this verdict, often given by those who were to some extent rivals of the missionaries, let us take the story of Paraguay.

When the Spaniards and Portuguese divided South America between them, they "swarmed into the New World, carrying with them all the vices of the Old, and adding to them the licentiousness and cruelty which the freedom of a new country and the hopes of speedy riches bring with them."¹ The older orders of friars were not numerous or ardent enough to cope with these difficulties; and the new Company of Jesus speedily threw itself into the work, inspired by the illustrious example of Francis Xavier. While it was generalled by a Spaniard,

¹ Weld, *Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Dominions*, p. 24.

yet it was two Italians who took up the task in these Spanish provinces, and devised the method that yielded such splendid results. They saw that it was needful to isolate the Indian converts from the enslaving Spaniards, and to cast over them the shield of royal protection. On a tributary of the Parana, 1300 miles above Buenos Ayres, they established the settlement of Loreto in 1610 A.D. The year may recall the beginnings of colonisation in the far distant North. At Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, the French had for five years maintained the first settlement that endured, and had been puzzled by evidences that other Christians—Irish or Norse?—had long preceded them; Raleigh had failed to settle in Maine, but Jamestown was proving more permanent in Virginia; Hudson had newly discovered the Bay and the River that immortalise his name; in Holland the Baptists were just emerging from the chrysalis, alongside the future Pilgrim Fathers; and at Penobscot the Jesuits were preparing to evangelise the redskins of the North.

In this, their heroic age, they combined on the mission field the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove; and well it would be for us if we pondered over their methods. Listen to these instructions given to a Scotsman:—

“First of all, attend to your own life, and see that at all times and in all things, it commends your message. Master the language of the people you work among. Associate yourself with one or two others; under no circumstances let a station be undermanned. Choose a site

as remote as possible from the movements of commerce and politics; for the votaries of these seldom show Christianity to advantage, and may easily distract the people you aim at. Plan out the whole station, far in advance of immediate needs, so that it shall be orderly and not a chance growth. Secure sufficient land for separate and for common needs. Let each be self-contained and self-supporting, with every needful trade represented. Let the church be the most conspicuous building, and the premises for the workers be central. Avoid all danger of slander by living a simple home life, supporting yourself after the initial stage by your own labour, buying what you need and never begging. Devote yourself, heart and soul, to the work, training the young above all. When punishment is needful, do not yourself inflict it. Avoid entanglement with the secular side, simply seeing that the native chief is trained with a view to his responsibilities, then when he is installed, let him exercise them.”¹

Such were the instructions given to the labourers in South America, and the methods actually adopted did not differ widely, an English Jesuit thus describing what really went on: “At the blush of dawn, the children of both sexes were assembled in the church to recite in alternate choirs the Christian doctrine; at sunrise the whole people attended the holy sacrifice of the mass. After the day’s work was over, the sound of the bell again summoned the children to recite the Rosary. . . . When

¹ Helps, *History of the Spanish Conquest*, vol. iv. p. 414.

the missionary sallied out to make new conquests, he was attended by a band of some thirty of his flock, eager to join him in bearing the good tidings to their countrymen. These would cut their way, hatchet in hand, through the forests, and when they came upon habitations they would use all their eloquence to persuade the inmates of their own happiness, and invite them to cast in their lot with them. . . . Each one had his own little property, which sufficed for his support, and the wise prevision of the Fathers took care that there should always be a common stock from which the needy could be supplied. . . . As there was neither gold nor silver in the Reductions, there was little incentive to avarice or its attendant quarrels. . . . All the useful arts of agriculture and working in wood and metals, even to the manufacture of clocks and musical instruments, sculpture and gilding, etc., were taught them. . . . The forests around them produced dye-wood, honey and wax, while their fields furnished the famous Paraguayan grass, and their flocks supplied skins and tallow. In order that the simple Indians should receive the full advantage of their produce, the Jesuits appointed Procurators of their own body to manage the exchange. All was the property of the Indian community, for whose spiritual and temporal happiness the missionaries gave with joy their labour, their sweat, and often their blood.”¹

These colonies had to be defended against the rapacity of European settlers, so both in Paraguay and Brazil the missionaries persevered in their humane efforts, at length

¹ Weld, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 46, 47.

winning royal orders that the Indians were not to be enslaved, a measure that excited against them the deadly hatred of many greedy civilians. As to the quality of the work accomplished, abundant testimonies are forthcoming. Within half a century the Bishop of Tucuman, in the modern Argentine Republic, reported :—

“Nothing stops them when they are called—neither labour, danger, health, nor expense. At appointed times, always with the orders of the bishop, and rendering to him on their return an account of the fruits they have gained, they travel over the whole diocese, preaching, hearing confessions, administering the sacraments, checking the licentious, and all this at no small risk, often with great danger, and at their own expense.” Speaking of the savage Calchaquis, ferocious idolaters in a mountainous land, he continued : “These Fathers have learned the language of this people, with immense labour, and during ten or twelve years have lived among them in two residences, carrying their own wood and water, constantly suffering insults, and often beaten with clubs, putting no one to expense, with little help from the faithful, and drawing the necessaries of life from their Colleges.”¹

A generation later the Archbishop of La Plata echoed : “The advantages which all the people derive from the religious of the Holy Society of Jesus, both in temporal and in spiritual matters, is so notorious to the whole world that to attempt to extol it would be to do them an injury.”²

It may be said that these are partial reports of ecclesi-

¹ Weld, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

astics, so it is well to add the official report of the Governor of Paraguay, who, after commending the conduct of four thousand Christian Indians called out to defend the country against invasion through a tedious war, sums up: "All this is the fruit of the holy education they have received from the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, of the good example they give, of the great intelligence with which they have trained them to perform the duties of civil life, and to fulfil the precepts of religion; instructing them in a faithful obedience to the Divine law and to that of the King, at the cost of such great labours and fatigues suffered in the apostolic ministry, which they exercise with such constancy to rescue them from the errors of paganism and a barbarous idolatry, and to raise them to the state in which they now are." A long chain of witnesses is fairly represented by a later Bishop of Tucuman, who describes seven Reductions of Chiquitos with some twenty thousand Christians, and thirty more of one hundred and thirty-five thousand Guaranis, as renewing the fervour of the primitive Christians, a triumph of grace, and a trophy of the Cross.¹

The Swiss Sismondi—no Catholic—says that all over the world the contact of English, Dutch and French races with savages has caused the latter to melt away like wax before a fierce fire (which is equally true of the Spaniards in the West Indies); but that, on the contrary, in the missions of America, the red race multiplied rapidly under the direction of the Jesuits.²

¹ Weld, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 58.

² *Histoire de France*, vol. xxix. p. 54.

One criticism has been passed on this work too often to be ignored, that the Indians were never trained to self-management. This seems indeed true ; but we ought in fairness to recollect that no one else dreamed of any such training, and that the redskin was regarded as necessarily to be under white tutelage. If no vernacular Bible was offered them, this was only the settled plan of the Catholic Church ; but we may wonder why no effort was made to train a native ministry, till we reflect that at least this was not done elsewhere, the precedents of an earlier age being in this respect lamentably neglected. On the general accusation that the Indians were kept as great children, Sismondi retorts that after the expulsion of the Jesuits, the Indians were converted into so many tigers by the Spanish, Portuguese and French. And this is fully confirmed by a modern resident in Brazil, who declares that the average native when once wrought up is more like a wild animal than a human being, as the mixture of the black, white, and red races has produced a terrible type.¹

In North America the work was prosecuted at first by such heroic souls as Marquette and other French, based upon Canada ; then by the Jesuits and Franciscans in California. While every Spanish ship to the New World had to carry out some priests or friars, very few Protestants went beyond pious intentions in this matter, chiefly caring for their own needs. Eliot, Roger Williams, and David Brainerd called forth really no followers. By the time that a sense of this duty was borne in on the conquering

¹ Glass, *Through the Heart of Brazil*, p. 81.

white man, the redskin was being ousted and becoming unimportant in numbers. To-day it is supposed that only about three hundred and fifty thousand Amerinds are left in the continent, of whom many are pagan, still practising their weird religious dances. Home mission work among them is prosecuted chiefly on industrial and educational lines.

The Eskimos have been approached by the Moravians and Danes, and more lately by the Labrador Medical Mission. Their wandering habits make them difficult to deal with; the hard life accustoms them to kill off incumbrances such as the aged, the sick, the infants, so soon as famine sets in; they seek to redress the balance by polygamy. In these respects there is ample scope for the social reformer, while on the religious side there are equally serious difficulties to encounter. Witchcraft is believed in, and the Angakoks wield much authority by their supposed possession of supernatural powers. Yet the missionaries can show results, though it must be owned that Christianity has never struck root so deeply that the European gardeners can withdraw from caring for it. The labours of the doctors along the Labrador coast are most heroic, and none the less praiseworthy in that they devote themselves to a dying race which can never figure largely in the world. At the other end of the continent are to be found Fuegians who were long supposed to be irretrievably debased. Darwin marvelled that they could be regarded as fellow-creatures or inhabitants of the same world; yet he lived to acknowledge that Christians

had raised them and discovered the soul ready for a Saviour.

If such be the condition of things in the extremities, another brief glance may be cast when we reach the tropics, and note the remains of certain uncivilised tribes there. F. C. Glass has lately pioneered through the district he writes about, and reports :—

“ If you take a map of South America, and placing one point of your compass where the longitudinal and latitudinal lines intersect at fifty-five degrees by ten degrees, and you stretch the other point five degrees and strike the circle, it will give you an area three times the size of Great Britain and Ireland, a huge territory which, with the exception of a thin fringe of civilisation at the extreme east, on the banks of the Tocantins, is wholly dominated by various tribes of redskins in a purely primitive state ; and if some of these tribes have been broken in spirit by fierce inter-tribal wars, by bloody raids by merciless adventurers, or equally cruel military expeditions as acts of vengeance or in the name of progress, it is true that others of these tribes retain their old fierce and warlike characteristics, and are unapproachable and almost impregnable in their forest fastnesses, where white man’s foot has never trod : for except the courses of the big rivers Tocantins and Araguay, this country is an unknown land, and occupies a blank space on the map of South America.

“ It is very difficult to estimate the numbers of these Indians, there being no reliable statistics at all ; but it will be perfectly safe to say they number hundreds of thousands,

quite cut off and, it seems, forgotten by the outside world. There are almost as many languages as tribes, their habits and laws differ in many respects, as also their physical appearance generally. They have many unwritten laws which govern their actions in matters of death, birth, and marriage, the latter being of remarkably wise construction ; and I think I can say without hesitation that they are generally much more moral than their white brethren. Gospel work amongst these tribes could only be undertaken in the face of much difficulty, hardship, and danger ; but it can and must be done, and we are prepared to undertake it. These Indians are 400 to 500 miles from the nearest railway point, and 150 miles from the outskirts of civilisation, in a country where there are no roads, no postmen, no white men, the only means of communication being the rivers."

While we are thus unpleasantly reminded of the neglect on the mainland, the islands in the tropics show another variety of the story. In the West Indies, whence the Spaniards soon exterminated the natives, a new population has been imported, chiefly of negroes. On some islands they form the majority, and in a few are devoid of all white environment. We have, then, a section of Africa, without the rival power of Islam ; and the rites of Obeah and Voodoo are said to be in full swing in some places. Baptists and Methodists have exerted a generous rivalry, and nominal Christianity is in possession through the archipelago. But it is painful to hear that in Jamaica itself more than 60 per cent. of the negroes are born out of wedlock. While the Jamaican Churches some years ago

formed a union independent of the home missionary society, yet they do not undertake the training of their own ministers ; and so we dare not say that Christianity has struck permanent root so as to be self-sustaining, even in this best evangelised of the negro islands.

These West Indian islands were the first part of the New World to feel the impact of Europe, and the mainland to the west and south came next. Here flourished two great civilisations, Mexico and Peru, both boasting religions strongly entrenched in the hearts of the peoples. Prescott has made us familiar with the story of the Spanish conquest, with its prompt destruction of the temples, its stopping of the heathen sacrifices, its massacres of the priests. As with Charles the Great in Saxony, troops of missionaries came in the wake of the soldiers, and by force or persuasion continued the work. Never has there been such thorough iconoclasm, nor is it easy to point to any other lands where a more complete conversion was secured within a century. Friars and Jesuits rivalled one another in evangelising and catechising ; schools were opened for the children, and equipped with pictures and catechisms in Latin, Spanish, and Mexican, and within a generation the victory seemed won. Yet even then there were misgivings as to the depth of the work, and some of the missionaries suspected "that the concourse of the Indians to the church was more an act of outward conformity at the command of their chiefs, in order to deceive these, than a voluntary movement on the part of the people stirred to seek the remedy needed by their souls."

If the Catholic historian Mendieta is thus candid, we need not hesitate to inquire further as to the value of these conversions. We have often observed that it is a regular thing for the old religion and the new to interact, producing a blend which differs in different places ; but nowhere is the result more striking than in these lands. It is hardly unfair to say that the old paganism has captured Christianity, and many observers actually describe what they see as Baptized Heathenism. Read of the sacred dolls, the religious dances, the processions of flagellants, all to be witnessed to-day at many centres, and we recognise clear survivals of what the Spaniards found four hundred years ago, and adopted into the Christian worship. Granted that they did something to lift the tone, that they founded the University of Mexico in 1553 A.D., the oldest on these continents, that they sought to elevate the people ; but once the Spanish yoke was cast off, the native element reasserted itself, and is in increasing vigour to-day. In the great Republic of Mexico, 38 per cent. are pure natives, and while there are many half-breeds, the pure whites are dying out ; the very President is of pure Aztec blood. The yoke of the Catholic Church has been broken, and many huge buildings have been confiscated for public purposes such as education. But while every hamlet has its free public school, while normal, industrial, art, and professional schools are lavishly provided, yet the teaching of religion in them is absolutely prohibited. This casts on the missionary a heavy responsibility, to which the Protestant

world has hardly awakened, and the danger of atheism is real and growing.

Take again Ecuador, with eight hundred thousand Indians, and not as many half-breeds and whites. Twenty years ago, Curtis declared it to be the only country in America where the Catholic Church survived as the Spaniards left it.¹ One-tenth of the people were priests or monks or nuns, only ninety-three days in the year were unappropriated as feasts or fasts. He declared it was no Republic, but simply a popish colony, every school being controlled by the Jesuits or other agents of the Church. Yet so unpopular or unsuccessful was this clerical rule, that 75 per cent. of the births were illegitimate. If some progress has been made in political liberty, and the Indians have been enfranchised and freed from tribute, yet the few Protestant visitors into the land declare it is a field crying for a real knowledge of Christ. In the adjoining country of Peru, where the native population is 57 per cent. of the whole, so exceptional is the type of Christianity, that Castells reports Catholics from other lands are often scandalised, and prefer to worship at Protestant places.²

Without viewing separately all the modern republics, we may note the estimates of various missionaries in South America. Frederick Glass declares that the old orthodox Catholicism may be regarded as forming really one of the smallest religious bodies on the continent ;

¹ *Capitals of Spanish America*, pp. 306, 334.

² *Ecumenical Missionary Conference, New York*, vol. i. p. 477.

that the country is passing into the hands of heretics and infidels ; and that it is hard work now to find recruits for the Roman Catholic clergy.¹ Some details from Scottish workers may make the picture more vivid :—

“ One of the most celebrated images is the so-called Virgin of Luyan, near Buenos Ayres. Her history is briefly this. Many years ago a caravan was proceeding up country. The oxen of a cart, on reaching a certain spot, refused to proceed any farther. The cause was discovered to be a box that formed part of their load. As soon as this was laid on the ground, they would move on ; but the moment it was replaced on the cart they again stopped. On being opened, an image of the Virgin was found, and the conclusion arrived at was that she desired to remain there. There she was allowed to establish herself, and there she is to-day ; whilst over her has been in process of construction for many years the largest sanctuary of South America. In connection with image worship, what are called ‘votos,’ or vows, are used. For example, a man suffers from rheumatism in his arm. His petition is presented to a special saint, and he promises that if cured he will present the saint with a silver arm. On feeling better, he buys from the silversmith a small arm stamped in silver, takes it home or to the saint’s shrine, and solemnly hangs it on the image as a mark of gratitude from a faithful devotee.”²

¹ *Through the Heart of Brazil*, pp. ii. 98.

² Robert Logan, of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, *Life of Faith*, 5 xii. 1906.

“The priests as a class are gamblers, immoral, ignorant, and trade upon the hopes and fears of the people with utter shamelessness. They are despised and distrusted by the men, but have great influence over the women, and this they use for the basest purposes. The religion is Paganism masquerading in the garments of Christianity. The gods they worship are miraculous crosses, so called relics, images of virgins and saints. Gifts offered to these through the priest are believed to purchase pardon for every sin, and smooth the way to heaven in proportion to their money value. Every day is a saint’s day. Children are named after the saint on whose day they are born. The saint is set up as the person’s special god, and is supposed to work miracles, and show special favour to his namesake. Jesus Christ is unknown as the Saviour of sinners. Moral purity does not exist. Marriage is considered unnecessary. Ninety per cent. of the births are illegitimate. Ninety per cent. of the people cannot read or write. The Government schools are such centres of immorality that parents, though living in sin themselves, often refuse to send their children to them.”¹

“The whole mass of the people are destitute of any saving knowledge of God. The religion of Rome has been from the first an idolatrous and mechanical one, devoid of spiritual life or power, a veritable cloak for covetousness. The Word of God has not been given to the people; but instead, a gaudy ceremonial of image worship, combined with feasts and revelries notorious for

¹ John Hay, of Edinburgh, in *The Christian*, 20th December 1906.

their licentiousness and drunkenness. A debased, immoral priesthood, arrogating to itself the sole right of mediatorship between the people and God, has for generations been selling in God's name, but for its own enrichment, the licence to indulge in any and every form of sin without guilt or penalty, so that the public conscience has been utterly deadened to all apprehension of sin as God sees it. In the light which contact with the outer world has brought into the larger coast centres, numbers of thinking men are awaking to the terrible evils of the Romish system ; but seeing these only as they affect themselves, and not from God's stand-point, they have sought freedom from the yoke in open infidelity and denial of God. Of late years Spiritualism has made extraordinary strides among the more intelligent male portion of the population, strides which might and ought to have been made by the Gospel, but which, as it is, have carried the people yet further from God, for the soul which has discarded the sensual religion of Rome for the satanic realities of Spiritualism is ten times harder to win for Christ. Thus where Romanism fails by reason of the growing enlightenment of the age, Satan is enveloping the people in this still deadlier system, and the last state will be even worse than the first, unless the Gospel is heralded throughout the land before it is too late." ¹

It will be said that these statements are from Protestants, even from missionary officials who are naturally

¹ F. C. Glass.

prejudiced, so two more testimonies are added from good Catholics. Father Weld in 1877 wrote about Brazil, and we know that a history published by a Jesuit must be approved on behalf of the Society. He sums up the conditions of Latin America in the terse phrase: "Savages who know little more of the Christian name than the vices of those who profess it." That is severe enough, but it refers manifestly to the laity, and especially to the native Indians. Hear another opinion as to the clergy themselves, this time of Chile, supposed to be in the vanguard of Latin America :—

"In every diocese ecclesiastics break all bounds and deliver themselves up to manifold forms of sensuality ; and no voice is lifted up to imperiously summon pastors to their duties. The clerical press casts aside all sense of decency and loyalty in its attacks on those who differ, and lacks controlling authority to bring it to its proper use. There is assassination and calumny, the civil laws are defied, bread is denied to the enemies of the Church, and there is no one to interpose. . . . Prelates, priests, and other clergy are never to be found doing service among the poor ; they are never in the hospital or lazaret-house, never in the orphan asylum or hospice, in the dwellings of the afflicted or distressed, or engaged in works of beneficence, aiding primary instruction, or found in refuges or prisons." ¹ Is not that a terrible indictment ? No, terrible it is ; but it is no indictment, it is a verdict, and one from which there is no appeal ; for to a Roman

¹ Beach, *Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions*, p. 126.

Catholic the utterance is final : it is part of an official letter sent by Pope Leo only a few years ago.

Latin America, then, raises for us the whole question of missions in papal fields. We can see that in one great respect the difficulty is the same as in Muslim lands ; they have received about enough of the truth to be inoculated with it mildly, and to be fortified against it in an unadulterated form. They have the name of Christ, but on high authority they have nothing of His spirit. Surely, then, it is as legitimate to spend strength on ministering to these as to any Muslim who indeed acknowledges the one God but refuses to listen to Jesus Christ. Both err in that they will not recognise in Him the one Mediator between God and men : the Muslim leaves the gulf unbridged, and bows in distant awe before a God with whom he has no intercourse ; the Roman Catholic hangs out over the gulf thousands of approaches, the saints, by whom to draw near, while he ignores the one appointed and only Way. Islam knows nothing of sin ; but Latin America seems to regard it as something that is licensed by the priests. Islam detests idolatry, which prevails all over the Southern continent under Catholic auspices.

The needs of these two sets of people may be slightly different, but their claims are equally urgent. To these people in darkness must be revealed the true Christ : not the helpless Infant alone, borne in His mother's arms, nor the dead corpse being borne to the tomb ; but the living Christ, who has made full atonement on the Cross,

and now eternally abides able to help to the uttermost those who draw near to God through Him.

Of no fond relics, sadly dear,
O Master ! are Thine own possessed :
The crown of thorns, the cross, the spear,
The purple robe, the seamless vest.
Nay, relics are for those who mourn
The memory of an absent friend ;
Not absent Thou, nor we forlorn ;—
“ With you each day until the end.”

How are we meeting the demand of South America ? Only poorly, because of ignorance as to the real paganism, or because of reluctance to go where there is at least a name to live. Except for the Guianas, where under European rule the Moravians have worked for one hundred and fifty years, winning twenty-eight thousand in the Dutch section alone, Protestant effort is recent and feeble. On the mainland from Mexico to Patagonia, counting every person from outside, Beach could not number four hundred and fifty men or five hundred women, or four hundred stations occupied : and the native constituency, adherents as well as communicants, he did not venture to put at one hundred and fifty thousand. There is a good civilisation, and so no need arises for industrial or medical missions ; but, as in Mexico the government education is purely secular, and schools of South America are declared to be hotbeds of vice, there is evidently great opportunity for real Christian education, which is being offered, especially by Presbyterians and Methodists. And as the Catholic worship is mainly spectacular or musical, appealing to

bodily senses rather than to the mind, therefore simple Gospel preaching is a novelty, and is as successful as when Paul went out to meet the Goliath of Greek paganism, with its pomp and procession and ritual, and with the simple Word of God inflicted a mortal blow. Workers tell us that farmers and artisans are the most accessible, exactly as when Paul granted that not many wise nor noble after the flesh were called. Nearly two thousand natives are already labouring among their fellow-countrymen; so that the new movement does not appear altogether as an exotic, but as something which is at least becoming naturalised.

This question of a native ministry is one of the most searching tests for the vitality of a church. We observed that the early Church in China was staffed partly by Chinese, but partly by Persians; that the early Church in India was staffed partly by Tamils, but partly by Persians: nor did we find that any proper arrangements were made for local training. On such a policy the commentary is that these two Churches, once so promising, are now represented by a handful of Christians in Cochin. In Persia itself there was a great college at Edessa, afterwards at Nisibis; and, even in the present decay, it is precisely in that district that the persecuted believers hold on. Westwards, the first Jewish missionaries were prompt to install local elders in every city, and ere long there grew up training colleges for native clergy, of which the best known were at Alexandria, at Hippo under the great Augustine, and in the isles off the south of France.

We observed that the early missionaries to Ireland soon allied with the Druids, and that the monasteries became founts of learning whence flowed forth streams to water the thirsty soil. We saw in Britain the same policy pursued, Picts and Scots and Welsh and English all taught and sent to labour among their own kindred. And we note the corresponding vitality of the faith among our people. In Africa, again, we regretted the enormous spread of Islam, but connect it with the utilisation of negro students.

With such examples before us, we are bound to see that our missionaries abroad now learn the lesson, and we must urge our mission boards to foster the training of a native ministry, who shall be prepared not only to preach, but to organise, to propagate, to take responsibility of all kinds, both in thought and in action. If this be neglected, the native Church may become parasitic on the Christians who send the mission: incapable presently of rooting for itself, and assimilating what is good in the local soil, but imbibing a foreign and perhaps unnatural strength, and even weakening the home Church by preventing it going farther afield.

2. EUROPEAN CHRISTIANITY DEVELOPING IN NEW SURROUNDINGS

Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
Readie to passe to the American strand.
Yet as the Church shall thither westward flie,
So Sinne shall trace and dog her instantly:

They have their period also and set times
 Both for their vertuous actions and their crimes.
 But where of old the Empire and the Arts
 Ushered the Gospel ever in men's hearts,
 Spain hath done one ; when Arts perform the other,
 The Church shall come, and Sinne the Church shall smother.
 That when they have accomplished the round,
 And met in th' East their first and ancient sound,
 Judgement may meet them both, and search them round.

HERBERT.

We come next to consider European immigrants to America, and the progress of Christianity among them. It is extremely interesting to see the different growth of kindred principles in different surroundings. For our purpose it is very necessary to notice that in every movement there is something permanent and essential, clothed in what is merely local and accidental. When any institution develops in one place alone, the local and accidental are not recognised for what they are, and may easily harden till they are confused with what is essential. Transplantation helps us to see the difference, and to dispense with what is merely ephemeral. Even as the Indian peasant laboriously takes up every stalk of rice and sets it afresh in a new place, replanting twice or thrice to bring to maturity, so our churches and institutions may be the better for being uprooted and set down elsewhere among new races and new conditions, that they may shed all that is merely national, and may appropriate all that is best in every soil, till they mature in full beauty. And even if there be no perceptible improvement, at least we learn to recognise that the differences in various lands

are not of the essence of Christianity, and to lay the emphasis aright on that which is held and practised in common.

Thus, to illustrate this principle, isolate the development of that singular phenomenon of Monasticism, which we have met again and again, and see how its surroundings changed its character. The hermits of India, when they sought seclusion, desired simply their own perfection, their absorption into Nirvana, by meditation. The Buddha retained the object and the method of renunciation, but he gathered his followers into societies and sent them forth to preach, adding to the quest for salvation the aim at saving others. When transplanted to Egypt and converted to Christian uses, the system aimed more distinctly at union with God, but modified the means by the personal and human touch, devotion to Jesus Christ. At times this degenerated to a wild fanaticism, but was still tempered by the stern discipline of work. Athanasius transplanted farther west, and Martin of Tours transformed afresh on new soil. To mere activity, which might equally be practised in a secular communist society, he gave definite point and direction, evincing activity in mission work ; and forthwith a new era opened for Christ in the north of Europe among new races. And whereas devotion to the Saviour had chiefly manifested itself in contemplation, which can easily fade into what we are prone to call laziness, a new mode of expression soon appeared in devout study of the words of Christ and His friends ; and so the Scotch monasteries became homes

of missions and of Christian learning. All this while the old Indian tradition had survived, that monks must be celibates, freed from family ties ; again and again harm had come from this persistence, and often it had been challenged. The northern nations were the first to declare it no part of the Gospel discipline, and to remember that Christ referred often with approval to the fact that God created us male and female, drawing the inference that men ought to marry. So another transformation took place, and the modern Protestant missionary emerged. Each stage of the evolution had shown a variety capable of good service, each may still have a useful place in some part of God's great field ; but we may thank Him that He fulfils Himself in so many ways, and helps us to recognise what is needful and lasting amid all the changes of time and place.

So then in North America—and indeed in Australia also—the one great question raised by the expansion of Christendom is, What will be discarded from the heritage of the past as a mere transitory form, and what will be developed amid new surroundings ? The problem is simpler than in the past, for there is now no native race in these continents which is at all likely to react seriously upon Christianity, and incorporate its old pagan customs with our own. Whatever alteration takes place will be free from disturbing and debasing factors. It will be due either to the quiet shedding of forms which have served their purpose, even as the calyx of the poppy withers and falls as the corolla expands ; or

to the luxuriant opening out in fresh and fertile soil, under the stimulus of purer air and clearer sunshine, of what has been latent from the first, but has as yet had no opportunity to mature. What now may we look for among those of our own kith and kin in these lands ?

The outward forms of worship are not likely to persist in the precise fashion ordered by Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, or the pattern elaborated in the notes to the Genevan Bible. May we not go further and observe that the Jewish pattern, taken over without explicit order in the first age, is visibly changing ? Already the Sunday school, started indeed in England, has been systematised and developed in America to a pitch of high excellence. Already the Y.P.S.C.E., originated in New England, has been transplanted and improved in Australia. Even as Burbank in California is patiently experimenting with plants, and is producing new and welcome varieties of fruit, so the simple elements of praise and prayer, reading and preaching, are being combined in new and attractive styles of service.

Look next at Church organisation. To America were transplanted from Britain three patterns, monarchical, aristocratic, democratic. Already a Methodist Episcopal has been produced, an ingenious crossing of two of these. Away in Tasmania the Baptist leaders examined their Bibles to see if Baptist traditions were absolutely in harmony with New Testament principle ; whether a few baptized believers who build a house for prayer and praise,

paying a few men and women to conduct it, with one pastor at the head, form "a Church" of Divine right, on a necessary pattern. They decide not, and all the Baptists in the island form really one community, with the ministers recognised as the ministers of the whole body. Church extension and matters of general interest are decided by the whole, and selfish isolation is discouraged. The same question occurred to a minister in Kentucky, and he asked whether New Testament precedent did not point to a single Church of Louisville, like the Church of Ephesus or of Jerusalem or of Corinth. And the same question has again been raised in Britain; a recent president of the Baptist Union has boldly avowed that the usual plan is at best of human origin, and not ordered in Scripture, while many of its developments are absolutely anti-Scriptural. For the next few years English Baptists are likely to inquire diligently whether the congregational system, blindly adopted from Robert Browne, is the last word in organisation; or whether the New Testament does not show us all the baptized believers in a town forming one Church, with a plurality of elders both to teach and to administer business, and probably many houses for worship. Indeed, in two great towns this system is just being tried.

If this seem important, go further and ask whether all that has been elaborated in doctrine will bear transplantation. Councils have sat, Œcumenical Councils, and have patiently or impatiently hammered out dogma after dogma. No Protestant believes the Infallibility of the

Pope and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, both announced last century. No Protestant believes that eating a piece of bread under certain conditions actually conveys Divine grace, or that a certain ceremony with water is an absolutely essential condition for the pardon of sins. Yet those dogmas have been formally taught, and are accepted by millions. Reject them, and where shall the line be drawn? Is it even probable that the definitions of the Greeks in 450 A.D. are cast into forms that are congenial to Teutons at this stage in thought? Nay, come nearer home; in the seventeenth century an assembly of British divines and laymen elaborated a long Confession of Faith, presently amended by a Baptist pastor, and endorsed by the representatives of more than a hundred churches in England, then by an American assembly at Philadelphia. Is it likely that these old English formularies enshrine exactly the live modern American beliefs? that the topics there mentioned are the only matters interesting men to-day? For instance, what had Pastor Collins to say about foreign missions in 1677? Nothing! And the churches which insist upon asking whether their office-bearers are true to his Confession contain several which are content with his thinking, which are cold to the work of spreading the Gospel, and even oppose all concerted action for the one solitary duty which the Ascending Lord left as His legacy to the Church.

CONCLUSION

Why rage and fret thee ; only let them be :
The monkish rod, the sacerdotal pall,
Council and convent, pope and cardinal,
The black priest and his holy wizardry.
Nay, dread them not, for thought and liberty
Spread ever faster than the foe can smite,
And these shall vanish as the starless night
Before a morning mightier than the sea.

LAMPMAN.

Changes, then, are to be expected as Christianity unfolds in new lands. Much that is shaken must fall and pass away ; but that which is vital will abide. And while all forms of worship must naturally vary with differing races, while methods of organisation may follow those familiar in civil life, while confessions of belief in order to be real must be the spontaneous words of the believer ; yet behind variety of ritual, machinery, and dogma, is the life sustained by the one Life-Giver. Diversities of gifts there should be in different ages, with the recognition that they are from the same Spirit ; diversities of ministrations there should be by different races, but rendered in the name of the same Lord ; diversities of workings there should be on differently developed mission fields, but all to the glory of the same God.

What sort of change, then, has passed over the Roman Catholic Church ? Once were to be found in its communion such ardent missionaries as Martin, Gregory, Boniface ;

little by little its character changed, more and more doubtful became the proceedings of its emissaries, till we hear of one legate heading a crusade to blot out the Albigenses, and of marvellous concessions in the Far East, which looked so like mere surrender to heathenism that Rome itself condemned them. We have seen what has become of Catholicism transplanted into South America ; what of it in the North ?

Two tendencies are observable. A desire to stereotype seventeenth - century Catholicism is specially strong in Quebec, and is traceable in other plantations of France and Spain. But a new phenomenon has arisen, called Americanism, where the new wine of the New World seems to be fermenting strongly and straining the old skins. This has, indeed, been officially condemned ; but a sign of the times is that still such bold voices are raised as that of Father Jeremiah Crowley, of the archdiocese of Chicago. Hear his condemnation of the actual state of things in the Catholic Church in the United States. Of the priests he says :—

“Many of them are themselves intemperate, and numbers own saloon property of the lowest type. I could give cases in which Church property is let out for saloon purposes, and even for these low drinking-shops which we call the ‘barrel houses.’ The people generally do not realise to how large an extent the Roman clergy, even the highest dignitaries, are silent partners in the drink traffic. . . . An American archbishop assured me that the Romish priesthood was so corrupt that any

attempt to reform or discipline it would knock the bottom out of the Church.”¹

Here, then, is another terrible accusation against the Church of Rome as developed in North America. Transplanting it has indeed brought forth a new shoot of some promise, but the question is grave whether the life remaining is potent enough to expel the evil and to renew itself in pristine vigour.

This raises a deeper question. When we find that Catholicism transplanted to South America, to North America, to Australia, and we might add also to China and India, seems not only to exhibit degeneracy, due possibly to local conditions, but also to be uniformly corrupt and feeble as a spiritual force—whatever it be politically—then it is time to ask whether the stock whence these seedlings have been brought is itself healthy, or whether the root of the evil is not in Europe. Is the work there accomplished once for all, so that it needs no further care—like the carving of the golden vine which was hung over the lintel of the Temple and could defy aught but the robber or the flames; or is it like the cultivation of the live vine, whose branches must remain in vital contact with the root, and which must be ever tended by the heavenly Husbandman, lest it fail to bring forth fruit? Alas, in the opinion of many, Europe is but one shade better than South America; it has a name to live, but is dead. The East, with its ancient Christian Churches,

¹ *British Weekly*, 20 xii. 1906.

stiffened and fossilised centuries ago, has long ceased to change, much less to extend, and is inert in face of the Turks and Tatars in its midst. These many years the Owner has found no fruit; and were it not for His infinite patience, it well might have been cut down as cumbering the ground. A recent student thinks, however, that there has been of late years a marked spiritual revival in the religious houses, and that help may yet come from the monks.¹ Latin Christianity is indeed alive, but grave questions are asked whether it is the Spirit of God or an evil spirit that animates its aged body. For Ireland, once the glory of the Christian world, read the books of Michael M'Carthy, a lay Catholic. Then Lutheranism long ago allied itself with the powers of this age, and still pays the penalty. On the whole Continental problem, hear Dr. Newton H. Marshall, sent specially to study the state of affairs, and reporting to the Baptist World Alliance :—

“There is no field for mission work comparable with that of Europe. The bulk of the population of Europe is ignorant of Christianity as we understand it. The commonly received Roman Catholicism, Greek Orthodoxy, and State-Established Protestantism is formal and of relatively small moral and spiritual value. The passions and vices of paganism are rampant in European civilisation. Every part of the world is interested in the Christianisation of Europe. Obviously it is the first essential of European prosperity in the highest sense that Christ

¹ *British Weekly*, 3 i. 1907.

should be known to these peoples. It is important to America that its immigrants should be men of Christian type; and the interests of the non-Christian world are almost entirely bound up with the moral and spiritual state of Europe. Missionaries find the wickedness of Europeans the greatest obstacle to their work; and as a higher civilisation and an intenser patriotism grows in Asia and other lands, the desire for a satisfactory religion will compel the nation to look to Europe to see what Christianity is."

Two streams of emigration went to America with slightly different religious aims. The Latins sought to evangelise the natives, the Teutons to secure for themselves religious freedom. Latin America has amalgamated its former pagan customs with the Catholic worship brought to it; but to-day the native element is slowly rising from its servitude, and in religion there appear intolerance and atheism, while no vestige of missionary spirit is shown. Northern America was for centuries asleep to the call of the heathen, but all the while religion was striking deep root in the ground; since the call of Carey was echoed by Judson and Rice, standard-bearers have pressed to the front in every land. Nor is this the best service that has been rendered; the early history of missions abounds with warnings that zeal without discretion leads to disaster. While Danes and Germans, who provided the first Protestant evangelists, led the way also in systematic collation and study of their experiences, yet that way has been traversed chiefly by

Americans. The scientific study of missions is pursued mostly in the New World, where is best appreciated the old proverb :—

By the needle you shall draw the thread ;

By that which is past, see how that which is to come shall be drawn on.

V

REPLANTING IN ASIA

That waiting One, who now
Is letting us try again ;
Watching us with the patient brow
That bore the wreath of pain ;
Thoroughly teaching what He would teach,
Line upon line,
Thoroughly doing His work in each.

F. R. HAVERGAL.

V

Replanting in Asia

WE return to close the circuit of the globe at Asia. This continent is the largest and the most prolific ; perhaps the birthplace of mankind, certainly of Christianity.

Here dwell great races which made their mark in history when our ancestors were yet savages. Here are religions which had six centuries of experience when our Lord came to earth. Here also are two-thirds of the Muslim world ; so that of every seven Asiatics, one is a follower of Muhammad, and he is usually more energetic than his six neighbours. For Christianity to acknowledge itself defeated by older faiths and by a newer faith would be a confession of sloth or incompetence ; such a confession has never been made. Even before the native Asiatic Christianity had given up the ghost, European missionaries were at work, and within the last century their efforts have commanded some serious attention.

We shall do well to observe first the work of the neo-Roman Church as altered and reinvigorated by the Company of Jesus. Then when that came to a standstill, or was even all but extinguished, we shall see the slow

but steady preparation for the next attack, in the acquisition of new bases in the islands and the continents facing the south and east shores of Asia. The Protestant work has become so large and important that it needs considering in four great districts—India, China, Japan, and South-west Asia, especially as these present problems in resistance that differ greatly.

1. THE JESUITS IN INDIA, CHINA, AND JAPAN

A soldier's course, from battles won
To new-commencing strife;
A pilgrim's, restless as the sun—
Behold the Christian's life!

Prepared the trumpet's call to greet,
Soldier of Jesus, stand!
Pilgrim of Christ, with ready feet
Await thy Lord's command.

The hosts of Satan pant for spoil;
How can thy warfare close?
Lonely, thou treadest a foreign soil;
How canst thou hope repose?

GISBORNE.

Even before the Persian Christians had ended their endeavours in China, the Franciscan friars in the first flush of their zeal had entered; but although we have interesting accounts of their labours at Kambalu or Pekin, yet with John of Marignolli, about the time when mission work in Europe was ceasing because all the heathen were won, the curtain falls on work in Asia. When it rises again all continuity is lost. Nothing, indeed, in mere

geography is more striking than the fact that the Cathay of Marco Polo and contemporary travellers overland was not recognised in the China discovered by the sea voyagers of two centuries later. And the new stream of missionaries that came round the South or across the vast ocean to the East found nothing to recall the labours either of Adam from Persia or of William from Rubruck. To them all seemed virgin soil, except in a corner of India.

If the Franciscans had brought a type of Christianity strange to the Persians, the Jesuits brought a third differing from both. Rome is not *semper eadem* in doctrine or discipline or methods, and the new chapter of missionary enterprise illustrates this most vividly. It is irrelevant here to show how the Latin Church of 1600 A.D. differed in Europe from that of 1500 A.D., with a new creed and new rules elaborated at Trent; it is only necessary to observe the moving force behind the transformation, which had absolutely free play in the mission field of Asia—the Society of Jesus.

Ignatius Loyola was essentially a soldier; and when his secular military career was cut short, he planned a spiritual military career. He was the General Booth of the sixteenth century, ardent, religious, autocratic, and full of resource. To him was due the magnificent military organisation, wherein absolute obedience was exacted from every recruit, at the risk of crushing all power of initiative, and failing to provide for capable successors in the generalship. But fortunately by his side was Francis Xavier, full of missionary zeal, who from the outset led

the military company to the field of foreign service. In western India, the southern islands, Japan, and China, he pioneered ; and if his life was too brief to show much effect, it inspired the Society to regard missions as its distinct aim. Promotion in its ranks is slow ; but all authority is concentrated in the highest grade, whose distinguishing feature is a pledge to go on mission work to any spot at any time when ordered. Is it too much to say that the Company is essentially a missionary society ? It is singular that the governing caste is that which is thus mobilised for instant service ; it recalls how in England there was one time when the Army and its General Cromwell practically monopolised all power, and how England, while she sickened of its home tyranny, yet rejoiced in its foreign service and fame.

So when Xavier died on the Chinese shores, others were speedily sent to develop the work he initiated. One great method characterised the Society, that of adaptation. We have noted that on the mission fields the problem had repeatedly emerged, How far local religious customs might be retained. The Jesuits were prepared to go further than any of their predecessors, and have given us a striking object-lesson on the limits of compromise.

In Japan they found something like the feudal system, with barons ruling their retainers. They used this authority, won a few barons, and encouraged them to compel their dependents to profess their faith. But the islanders were fiercely patriotic ; they heard how in

Europe the Jesuits did not hesitate to inspire forcible methods for conversion and conquest; and before it was too late they proscribed the new religion. A steady and frightful persecution expelled the foreign workers, and drove Christianity out of sight within a century of Xavier's quitting Japan. Yet be it noted that when after two centuries Catholic missionaries once again entered the empire, they found that a native Church had secretly persisted without missionary or priest or Bible. Such vitality has the Gospel!

While in Japan the adaptation was to the feudal state of society, in China it was to the respect for ancestors and for learning. The Jesuits obtained their footing on the mainland with a plea that they sought seclusion to study; they improved their position by adopting the academic dress of the land, by a remarkable insight into Chinese modes of thought, as Ricci showed in his books, and by introducing the mathematics and science of the West. Surveying and astronomy were pursued by them for the behoof of the emperor, nor did they hesitate at founding cannon by the hundred.

If such militant occupations seem hardly accordant with the ambassadors of the Prince of Peace, yet attention was attracted rather by their attitude to certain reverences at the tablets of ancestors and certain ceremonial offerings. The Jesuits held that these were mere social civil customs, and were fortified by the official approval of the Chinese emperor, and by the declaration of many Chinese of all ranks. The rival Dominican missionaries obtained the

ruling of the Pope that these were pagan religious ceremonies which could not be performed by Christians. When, too, it was found that the old idols were not banished, but were allowed to remain alongside the symbols of the new faith, then missionaries of other orders opposed and obtained official repudiation of such accommodation to heathen customs. The emperor, however, announced that conformity to the Chinese customs would be expected, and so the situation under the Roman emperors was reproduced.

Although the tact of the Jesuits and their maintenance of their own Chinese policy averted a local rupture for awhile at the cost of weakening their position in Europe, a new emperor cut the Gordian knot in 1724 A.D. by following the example of Japan, forbidding all Catholic propaganda, and escorting the missionaries to the coast. In the days of their prosperity, the Jesuits had comported themselves with arrogance, dressing and travelling like rich lords, relying on their native catechists for work among the commonalty, and devoting themselves to winning the upper classes or to literary pursuits. But now they rose to the occasion, threw themselves on the fidelity of their followers in the lower ranks, to whom they stole back in disguise and faithfully ministered. Throughout long persecution, hundreds of thousands of converts were steadfast, and fresh missionaries arrived, till fifty years ago new treaties permitted them to emerge into the light of day.

It soon appeared that much property had been preserved

all this time, and speedily the old policy was resumed. The whole empire was mapped out into bishoprics, and in pursuance of the assimilation idea, official status was obtained for the bishops, to hold civil rank on the lines so familiar with the Lord Bishops in England. Stately cathedrals arose, money was invested till an income of nearly thirteen million dollars is available for extension, and thus a million and a half of followers makes a somewhat formidable show. But again a keen observer declares that the aim is rather at external conversion than at the gradual enlightenment and final reformation of the whole empire. Still, the Chinese authorities are not satisfied with the accommodation to their own customs which all Catholics acquiesce in; they are affronted at the establishment of a body of people owning some kind of allegiance to a foreign priest, who can appoint or depose the bishops in China, thus indirectly appointing to Chinese rank, yet who seldom if ever appoints Chinese to office, but governs through Europeans. Hence the latest move of the Chinese is towards revoking their civil rank.

In the process of manufacture it is often found that a firm will devote itself largely to refining material which has been mined and crudely prepared by others. Such was the policy adopted in India, where Xavier had found the ancient Church of Thomas represented at Cochin, and where he instigated the Inquisition of Goa to subject it to the successor of Peter. The process was not very thorough, and it cannot be called mission work; we need

only note the Jesuit methods among the heathen. Here, again, compromise with native customs was carried to an extreme that scandalised missionaries of rival orders, and not only led to explicit condemnation at Rome but was one of the reasons alleged for the total suppression of the Society. We know that it has revived, and unhappily the method of assimilation has revived too. A Protestant visitor to South India twelve years ago watched an open-air service for twenty minutes under the impression that it was a gorgeous heathen function.

To-day it seems as if the Jesuit temper and the Jesuit principles predominate in the Roman Catholic Church. Undoubtedly this appears on the foreign mission field. The suppleness and adaptability are almost unlimited; the pomp and arrogance of the sixteenth century, and all the policy then so fiercely contested by the Dominicans and the French, seem to be deliberately adopted by the modern ultramontane missionaries in China.

In India, again, all the compromises of Robert de' Nobili have become so much the order of the whole communion that a native Civil servant reported in 1891 on the Maisur census that he had met several Roman Catholic communities continuing undisturbed in their ancestral rites and usages, especially at marriages and festivals, calling in the Brāhman astrologers and family priests, and even using the religious mark on the forehead which distinguishes the Hindu sects and castes. One feature that can excite our legitimate admiration is the tenacity of both converts and missionaries in the face of torture, and the

persistence of the native Church throughout centuries with but few aids to faith.

It deserves attention that as early as 1582 A.D. a special Foreign Mission Committee of cardinals was appointed at Rome, a sign that henceforward the great work of the Church should be systematically surveyed and prosecuted. By 1622 A.D. this was fully organised, and soon the "Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith" had established a great training college for European and native missionaries, where also a printing-press renders permanent their literary labours. Not till 1612 A.D. were Protestants stirred to found their first Missionary Seminary at Leyden, and the New England Company in 1649 A.D. Not till the close of the century was the lesson taken to heart by the foundation of the Societies for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge, and for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, with a corresponding Society in Denmark. Indeed, except for the expansion of the white race into other continents, the foreign mission work of Christendom was prosecuted chiefly by the Roman Catholic Church for a century and a half, till the United Brethren showed an appreciation of duty equal to that of the Jesuits.

2. NEW BASES ACQUIRED OFF THE COAST

A lake of molten fires which swell and surge
And fall in thunders on the burning verge ;
And one, a queen, rapt, with illumined face,
Who doth defy the goddess of the place.

LEWIS MORRIS.

O Australia, fair and lovely, empress of the southern seas !
What a glorious fame awaits thee in the future's history.
Land of wealth and land of beauty, tropic suns and Arctic snows,
Where the splendid noontide rages, where the raging stormwind
blows,

Be thou proud, and be thou daring, ever true to God and man
In all evil be to rearward, in all good take thou the van !
Only let thy hands be stainless, let thy life be pure and true,
And a destiny awaits thee such as nations never knew.

AGNES NEALE.

Missions in the South Seas are usually regarded even by the boards and by the missionaries as ends in themselves, being direct fulfilments of the standing orders to the Church. Strategists are all too few. Yet, when we survey the course of events only for a few score of years, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the labourers builded better than they knew, and that the great Architect on high was slowly fulfilling His vast plans through uncomprehending workmen. Hence there is justification for treating missions in the Pacific as ancillary to and preparatory for a renewed attempt on the mainland of Asia.

It cannot even be justly said that many fresh principles of importance come to light, that any new experiments of the first magnitude have succeeded here. We may indeed read with pleasure the wonderful conversions of some islanders, and join in Drummond's tribute of praise to the workers among insignificant and vanishing races ; yet he saw that the importance here is in the occupation of Australia, California, and British Columbia by white Christians.

Concerning, then, the last century's work in Oceania, little

need be said. There were no great organised religions to encounter, professed by millions of people ; the islanders were isolated, and the Christian forces could be concentrated in mass on some small group ; even in Hawaii the system of *tapu*, linked with the power of priests and kings, could offer no long resistance. The great difficulties have really arisen from the conduct of un-Christian white men, with their vices, their diseases, their demoralising trade, and their labour traffic, while the competition of Catholic workers is a sore trial. The missionary methods are governed by the fact of this being an oceanic area : certain islands are selected as headquarters for the training of natives and for consultation of the white superintendents. Itineration is of necessity by ship, and the native churches are largely under pastors of their own race : the expenses are not heavy, even when printing Bibles and other literature is included, and the converts are encouraged to defray this themselves. Thus industrial work develops, which indeed was put in the forefront by the London Missionary Society.

Nearer to the mainland lie larger islands, and these soon attracted the attention of Europeans, both for dominion and for evangelisation. The Philippines, so close to Asia, and under Spanish rule since the sixteenth century, might be expected to be prominent in mission story. Four orders of friars settled on these islands, acquiring enormous wealth and influence, till they really managed the government and had won to Christianity all the millions of natives on the lowlands, except the Muslims. But they

never would admit the natives into their orders, so that they always were foreigners, and were regarded as exploiting the islands ; thus the Filipinos, if Christian in any real sense, never joined the friars in extending missionary operations further. Moreover, Spanish commercial jealousy led to the suppression of intercourse with China. In this century, however, the Philippines have regained their rightful position as related to their neighbours. The natives desired the withdrawal of the twelve hundred foreign friars, and steps are being taken to replace them by American and native priests ; Protestant workers also enter, so that a new type of Christianity is rapidly spreading. The archipelago is still to be regarded as a mission field like Japan, rather than as a vantage-ground whence to approach the mainland ; but the establishment of a progressive Western rule marks the coming transition.

The Portuguese were even earlier in these parts—at Malacca, the Moluccas, Macao, and Canton ; but their missionary efforts were not important. When, however, Spain annexed Portugal, the Dutch annexed most of these colonies, and promptly sent out ministers to win the natives. In Formosa they did good work, and in the very year that Eliot issued his Indian New Testament, two Gospels were printed in Formosan. Unfortunately the Chinese expelled the Dutch, and these efforts ceased here ; but it deserves to be recollected that the first Protestant missionary version was due to Holland, and that it is the first for Eastern Asia which survives. More to the West, the Buddhists in Ceylon offered stubborn

resistance till civil rewards were offered to converts, and coercion was employed; the Tamils of the North had no organised religion, and acquiesced more easily. Free compulsory schools were opened, where certain texts and prayers were memorised as the chief qualification for baptism; seminaries were established to train native workers. Within a century, versions of large parts of the Bible were published in Tamil and Singhalese. But it was confessed, even by the missionaries in consistory, that the superficial effect was unreal. There might be nearly half a million enrolled as Christians, but barely one in two thousand was a communicant, the vast majority still adhering to native worship. It is at least to the credit of the Dutch that this was deplored, and not sanctioned as permissible. Tamil was the tongue of the continent across the straits, they therefore sought to spread their faith on the mainland, especially on the Coromandel coast, while north of Madras they had a native Church even before their Ceylon work was fairly under way. Still, on the whole, their missions were linked with their political dominion, and it is painful to add that, when the latter ceased, the former vanished like the baseless fabric of a dream.

In Java and the neighbouring islands the Dutch flag still flies; and for nearly three hundred years the Gospel has been systematically spread in the Netherland East Indies at the expense of the Government, while versions in Malay and Portuguese were early circulated. For the last sixty years this State mission has been supple-

mented by the Mennonites, and the work has taken on a new phase in that the Government seems inclined to temporise, and even to discourage missions and to favour the Muslims; to this the missionary response is that it is exactly among the Muslims their best work is done. And in this way we can see that the islands are real bases for work on the continent.

The step across was taken by the Danes, whose capital of Tranquebar on the Coromandel coast was occupied at their king's orders by Ziegenbalg in 1706 A.D. Within a few years he also had put forth Tamil and Portuguese Bibles, and established a type-foundry and paper-mill and press. A score of schools followed, then versions in Telugu and Urdu. The wars of the French and English broke up work at headquarters, but acted like the martyrdom of Stephen in spreading the missionaries to the extreme South and up to Calcutta, besides over the neighbourhood. Especially in the district around Tinnevely did the work persist, and in the hands of two English Episcopal Societies is again abundantly successful.

The troubles, however, that the Jesuits had encountered soon beset these missions, especially as to caste. As this remains a constant problem to-day, it is well to face the difficulty. South India is inhabited by the black Dravidian race, speaking four languages of importance. Many centuries ago the Brāhman priests from the North came amongst them and superposed their own supremacy and a few of their customs on the local religions. The Brāhmans consider that they are immeasurably the

superiors of these "monkey-like" peoples, whom they contemptuously regarded as out-caste. But the peoples themselves naturally felt differences unheeded by their superiors, and to their classes based on social rank or occupation they applied the caste rules of the Brāhman. The result is that the population is distributed into hereditary trade-guilds, not permitting inter-marriage except under special restrictions, and declining to eat together. The question was, and is, whether such separation can be justified in a Christian society. The outsider promptly says that Paul's words as to unity forbid it in letter and in spirit; but the missionary on the field often seems to falter when confronted with the actual difficulty and the age-long custom. The most explicit orders that caste is to be ignored have not sufficed to banish even caste-names from church-rolls; and the mutual repulsion is such that if one caste shows a disposition to join the community evangelised by Baptists, another caste intermingled in the same area, and equally susceptible to the Gospel, will join the Church of England.

The tropical islands are still inhabited by the native races, but beyond them lie Australia and New Zealand, mostly in the South Temperate zone, and within ten days' steam of India or China; while in the North Temperate zone lies America, whose western shore is within a fortnight. The occupation of these large areas by white men has given Christian missions two new starting-points. A word is due to the aborigines of the southern lands.

Sixty years ago it seemed as if the Maoris were won for

Christ, and that a new and stalwart race was a trophy of the Gospel. But the belief arose that they were the true Israel, and their worship and customs were reorganised on this basis, unfortunately without proper respect to the second and seventh commandments. In this movement the old heathen priests had no small share, and the defection illustrates how the old root springing up may defile again. Then came Mormon missionaries, who also depleted the Christian ranks, till the outlook seems most depressing, as a race once noble withers away in vice and mistaken religion. Here we have a terrible object-lesson that, while the establishment of a native Church is to be aimed at, there is grave danger in removing too quickly those who are experienced in the vicissitudes of the past and the heresies of the present.

In Tasmania the aborigines are extinct. In Australia the black-fellows are being driven back by the advance of the white man, and the dissolution of their elaborate tribal and totem system is not adequately counteracted by the energetic presentation of the Gospel. On a few reservations mission work is done, but the roaming tribes are practically untouched, and their extinction seems within short distance. The case is different in Papua, which lies in the tropics, and here success is won as in the adjacent Dutch islands.

New Zealand now is the home of some eight hundred thousand whites, while three and a half millions more are near the coast-line of Australia, with unlimited room for expansion. All the British Churches are represented

here, and there is a movement for uniting the sections of Protestantism. Meantime there are several missionary societies, maintaining more than three hundred workers abroad, and employing about five thousand native converts to extend the Gospel. Most of these labour in India or China, though the islands of the vicinity, and even Africa, receive attention.

3. THE NEW FORCES IN INDIA

Little the present careth for the past,
Too little, 'tis not well !
For careless ones we dwell
Beneath the mighty shadow it hath cast.

Our sword hath swept o'er India ; there remains
A nobler conquest far,
The mind's ethereal war,
That but subdues to civilise its plains.

Let us pay back the past the debt we owe,
Let us around dispense
Light, hope, intelligence,
Till blessings track our steps where'er we go.

L. E. LANDON.

The native Tamil Church of St. Thomas has lost its missionary tradition ; and despite the interest shown in it, first by the Roman Catholics and then by the Church Missionary Society, it prefers an isolated existence by its still lagoons, where no current of life invigorates it, or stirs it to arise and preach.

The labours of the Danes and Germans during the eighteenth century were in the South, the land of the

Dravidians, with their spacious and ornate temples, sheltering in their inmost precincts some elephant or peacock to receive the popular worship and gifts. But as the power of Haidar Ali waned, the political attention of Europe was diverted by Clive to the plains of Bengal, and a new field opened for Christian missionaries. The turning point is well marked by the death of Schwartz in 1798 A.D., and the arrival next year of four Englishmen to reinforce Carey. The British authorities at Calcutta had been discussing the question of missions, and though they tolerated Kiernander and some devoted chaplains, they declined to further this new departure, so that the headquarters were placed at Serampur, under the protection of the Danes, as in the south. Here the translating of the Bible was pushed ahead on a scale that has cast into the shade the Dutch and Danish pioneering. Within a generation, portions of the Bible in more than forty Asiatic dialects were translated and printed on the Serampur press. Schools were planted, native literature was fostered, Western agriculture and horticulture were introduced; and while the English at length honoured and supported the work of these humble artisans, Denmark granted a charter for a university in all branches of learning, the first to be established in Asia. After many years of neglect, this seems likely now to be utilised for Christian education.

The enterprise was not confined to a little rural town. Carey was a statesman, and planned Oriental missions thence; while he at once divined the evils of caste, and

excluded it from the Church, he devised expeditions, like Asoka of old, to occupy Bengal, Burma, Orissa, Bhutan, and the Ganges valley. China being still sealed, every available island on the route thither was supplied with workers. The great zeal and success of the Baptist band kindled the emulation of others, and into India poured reinforcements of all denominations and from many countries. To-day more than a hundred societies from every department of Protestant Christendom are represented by four thousand white workers, superintending or aided by twenty-five thousand natives, who can gather four hundred and twenty thousand communicants.

The problem is harder than it was twelve centuries ago ; duties that are neglected seldom become the easier. Then there was but one organised religion to deal with ; to-day the situation is more complex. The original Buddhism is to be found, migrated to Burma and Ceylon, where it has combined with native elements and produced types of religion deeply rooted. The Dutch were unable to effect much, and to-day evangelistic methods do not seem to attract, though educational advantages seem to appeal to the upper classes.

Millions of people of all races are to be classified as "Hindus," though this most elastic term tells nothing with certainty except that cow-killing is a sacrilege, and that there is a caste system, with the Brāhman at the head, revered almost as a god. At one end of the scale may be found philosophers whose pantheism nearly

excludes real religion ; at the other are mere beast-worshippers, who verify the old thought that they become like to what they adore. Yet perhaps it is fair to refer to the Rāmāyana and the Mahā Bhārata, the Purānas, and the Tantras as showing the atmosphere of Hinduism. This is what will be found in two households out of every three throughout the land, with the women engraining superstition and magic into their impressionable children. Idols and pilgrims on all hands attest the hold on the people of this conglomerate of faiths. Twice have Christian elements been absorbed, and twice have they disappeared in the great slough. When the engineers were crossing Chat Moss, they almost lost heart as the bog engulfed their material, till it occurred to them to drain away the water as well as to deposit ballast. The fetid mass of Hinduism is already being drained of its most impure and repulsive elements ; widow-burning is now punished as murder, and we may presently see the exception abolished which tolerates impurity and obscenity when in the cause of religion.

While caste holds together large groups, the family system binds together others within the caste, so that an individual life is impossible, and few dare even to think for themselves. Jacob kept Leah, Rachel, Bilhah, and Zilpah in different tents ; had he put them all under the rule of Rebekah, we can see the slight chance he would have had to confiscate the ancestral teraphim, and to introduce a purer faith. Add to these forms of association the rising patriotism that leads many Hindus to

agitate against the foreign dominion, and the difficulties seem to multiply.

One obvious line of approach has been seldom taken with any perseverance—religious poetry. Students of early history remember that Arius won his followers by popular hymns; the influence of Cædmon and Aldhelm in England was more pervasive if less conspicuous than that of Augustine and Aidan; the German poem of the Heiland and the Huguenot verses of Clement Marot were distinctly successful missionary enterprises. So has it been in India. The two great epics, it can hardly be repeated too often, are the popular Bible of the Hindus. What we have done on these lines is as yet feeble. A few Bengali ballads and an Uriya poem on the life of the Saviour represent nearly all that has been accomplished. When some native poet shall arise to write a *Paradise Lost* or a *Paradise Regained*, or to dream of an Indian *Pilgrim's Progress* from the City of Destruction, or to sing of the *Holy War*—then all experience shows that we are warranted in expecting God will bless the power of sacred song.

Hinduism is a subtle enemy, capable of swallowing anything; and this eclectic spirit is congenial to most of the inhabitants of India, insomuch that the very Muslims in their lower ranks are organised on caste lines. The arrogance of the Brāhman is challenged by some missionaries with even loftier pretensions; for though the Brāhman claims to be divine, he has never ventured to claim that he makes his god. Such sacerdotalism, however, though practised in the name of the Church, is utterly

foreign to real Christianity, and the meek and lowly spirit is urged by our Master ; while the doctrine that not Brāhmans alone, but all Christians are twice-born, that not Brāhmans alone, but all Christians are priests to God, robs them of the uniqueness of their claims.

Missionaries who care little for the past, and think that, as India has no written history, it too is independent of the past, will carry on their work with an unconscious appeal to the Bible as if what is authoritative to them will carry weight with the native. Their teaching can hardly strike root into the past, and for good or for evil is a new thing. Others have sought to graft theirs on to the old stock of the Tamil Church, and vivify this shoot from the ancient Syrian root on the Euphrates ; but this seems no more responsive to the Church Missionary Society than to the Roman Catholics. Dr. Grierson is now urging that we attend to the modifications produced in Hinduism by ancient Christianity, and seek to modify still further till the error is expelled. To this some reply that there is no such filiation as he alleges ; but whatever the origin, it can hardly be said that the suggestion as to future method is mistaken, for Paul at Athens did not hesitate to reinforce his message by an appeal to what their own poets had said.

A third great section of the people is Muslim. On the Ganges these formed a ruling race till the British advent, and this memory is ever in their subconsciousness. Consider also that Muslim law is recognised and administered ; recollect that by that law—if pressed strictly, as it is not

here—the conversion of a Muslim is a crime punishable with death ; add the intense pride that causes a true Muslim to look down on even the haughty Brāhman : so we see a net of difficulties in the missionary's path. The Roman Catholic is further handicapped by what the Muslim contemptuously styles his idolatry, which for three centuries has barred all access. Not adaptation is needed here, but intelligent opposition. The dangerous antagonist of Christianity is the man who knows his Bible and the standard works of theology ; and if he is an apostate minister he becomes really formidable. So what is needed here is the man who knows his Qur'ân thoroughly, able to cite chapter and verse in the Arabic, ready to refer to the Muhammadan theologians. A most effective line of attack was indicated in a little tract by Dr. Rouse, taking the statements in the Qur'ân as to Muhammad and Christ, and comparing the two as depicted on this authority unchallenged by the Muslims.

The rest of the people—not Buddhist or Hindu or Muslim, some ten millions in all—are of low Animist practice. It is from these races that converts are chiefly won ; but unfortunately they are being won by each of the three great religions. The Hindu *yogi* goes to a hill tribe and slowly impregnates it with the conception of caste. The Muslim *faqir* will take over the local god as an orthodox saint, and induce the villagers to be circumcised, then insist on their keeping the whole law. The Buddhist monk will win a few lads to put on the yellow robe and study awhile at the pagoda. It is true that Christian

missionaries find their easiest field here ; but we must not blink the fact that all the lower castes, many of the Bengali Muslims, and all the Burmese Buddhists, are only the descendants of converted Animists ; even to-day each of these three religions wins more converts than does Christianity.

This, then, is the most pressing problem of the moment, to gain all these ten millions before they are absorbed by the other faiths. Of every hundred recruits to Christianity in India, ninety-five seem to be from these peoples, or from those who have but lately passed over to form a low caste. Thinkers on the spot ask that we cease reinforcing the men who batter at the stone walls of Islam and caste, and that we treble or quadruple those who are invited in at the open gateways of the out-caste villages. Again and again missionaries are appealed to for teachers who will guide the earnest inquirer, but they have not the men to send. It would seem time to warn solemnly the unheeding Muslim and Hindu : " Seeing you judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the hill tribes ! " When salvation comes to these, and the despised aborigines rise into new manliness, the others may be provoked to emulation. Meantime delay may result in the last remnant becoming inoculated and unresponsive to Christian invitation.

The political situation has greatly changed, and presents a close analogy to that of the Roman Empire when Christianity was in its early days. The only European Power that has importance in India is that of Britain, which

directly governs 231,000,000 out of 294,000,000. In its territories there is full liberty of propagation, and the workers can claim and receive protection so long as they abstain from public outrage on other religions. If there is no active support, there is, at least, a free field and abundant opportunity. The native rulers of the rest of the land are all bound by treaties to Britain; but in some cases they have the right to exclude all foreigners, and they do actually forbid missions in a very few cases. The importance of this field is well recognised, as the presence of more than three thousand foreign missionaries attests.

4. THE OUTLOOK IN CHINA

Where are the mighty forests,
And giant ferns of old,
That in primeval silence
Strange leaf and frond unrolled?
Not lost! For now they shine and blaze,
The light and warmth of Christmas days.

Where is the seed we scatter,
With weak and trembling hand,
Beside the gloomy waters,
Or on the arid land?
Not lost! For after many days
Our prayer and toil shall turn to praise.

F. R. HAVERGAL.

Modern China presents very different problems. The flowery kingdom has been evangelised by the Persians, who erected the tablet at Si-Ngan-Fu, again by the Persians in the wake of the Mongols, by the Italian friars

overland, and again by the Jesuits from the coast. After four successes came four failures; then a century ago Protestantism made its appearance in the person of Robert Morrison. Presently from Canton and Serampur appeared two Chinese Bibles, and the note was struck that interested a literary nation. Other ports were reluctantly opened, and the inland territory is at last legalised for missionary travel and residence.

Two national characteristics have to be most seriously reckoned with—the educational system, the patriotism; while there is hardly any real religious difficulty. Until the last three years, education was entirely on classic literature; mathematics, art, science, medicine, etc., were either utterly ignored or studied on the lines laid down centuries before. Now the whole curriculum is changed, and Western learning is made the qualification for office. The opportunity is tremendous, and is fleeting. In ten years China will have her own teachers of the new subjects; but at this moment she must borrow them, or send her students abroad. Unless Christians rise to the occasion, white men who are indifferent to religion may train atheist teachers; or Japan may supply an inferior article that is a colourable imitation of what is needed. We have the invitation to mould the leaders of a nation; India calls us to the lowest classes, China to the highest.

The Chinese are intensely patriotic, and for this reason have rejected or extirpated the Gospel in the past; we are without excuse after the Boxer riots if we fail to learn the lesson. They keenly resent foreign interference,

whether as taking commercial concessions or extra-territorial rights, or leased districts, or spheres of influence. In their own estimation their civilisation is superior to ours in essentials, although they can borrow from us some of the manual arts. If we fail to comprehend this attitude and adjust ourselves to it, we only prepare a recurrence of the catastrophes which have already overtaken missions.

There is no aggressive religion to encounter. Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism make no progress, and barely offer any resistance ; while even Islam, elsewhere so militant, is content to live in Chinese fashion, and let live. The real difficulty on the religious side is the omnipresent superstition, which seems a rank undergrowth persisting through all changes and under all nominal faiths. The one higher type that is formidable is the worship of ancestors, which is observed in every home, but affords no social bond in the village or town. Honour to father and mother, is a duty of Christians as well as Jews ; pride in ancestry may inspire to noble life, but beyond this it is dangerous to go in meeting the Chinese ; and the line of approach would seem to be to raise their veneration from earthly fathers to the Father in heaven. The Jesuit compromise is not adopted by Protestants.

Confucianism is, in truth, not a religion, but rather a code of manners. It has successfully blended with other religions, and can doubtless blend with Christianity. Nor does there seem any reason why it should not ; for there is nothing really antagonistic to Christian principles

in the teachings of the Chinese sage, though, of course, he falls short of the standard held up by Christ.

The Chinese are for the moment ready to welcome Western teachers, and emphasise their desire for educators and medical men, though the response is hardly equal to the demand. Moreover, there is already disillusionment, and some foresee that they will be flung aside like squeezed oranges, so prefer to extricate themselves from a false position. So rapid are the changes just now that experienced men find the kaleidoscope has taken a fresh turn during a short furlough, and wonder whether the opened doors are already closing.

Meantime the missionaries lay the greatest stress on personal dealing. Some find that in an obscure home they can welcome many a Nicodemus; others invite themselves to the house of a Zacchæus, or inquire who in a city is worthy, and try to meet his needs. Then comes the stage when the natives take up the work, and it spreads from house to house like strawberry-runners. The elders, who in Chinese society receive such deference, find precedents in the Acts for their becoming guides, and so a native Church spreads over the countryside.

Thoughtless reproduction of our developed Western customs has burdened many native churches with the support of pastors. Experience of financial strain and suspicion of mercenary motives has led to a closer study of the New Testament, and in more and more places to the shepherding of the flock by an unpaid committee of natives, supervised at present by foreign organisers.

The awful scandal of the Opium Traffic seems at last about to disappear, and missionaries will no longer be handicapped by this evidence that white men are not all possessed of the spirit of Christ. If the opportunity of these few years can be seized, then the splendid tenacity of the race, which was exemplified on a small scale when the recent riots did not cause apostasy or extinction, may avail to produce a strong and sturdy branch of Christendom in this populous land.

5. THE VALUE OF JAPAN

These shores forsake, to future ages due;
A world of islands claims thy happier view,
Where lavish Nature all her bounty pours,
And flowers and fruits of every fragrance showers.
Japan behold: beneath the globe's broad face
Northward she sinks, the nether seas embrace
Her eastern bounds. What glorious fruitage there,
Illustrious Gama, shall thy labours bear!
How bright a silver mine, when Heaven's own lore
From pagan dross shall purify her ore.

CAMOENS.

Japan is a modern mission field with not fifty years of work from which to augur its future, indeed with only a third of a century since edicts against Christianity were silently removed as obsolete. When the Roman Catholic missionaries re-entered the empire, they certainly found survivals of the early Jesuit endeavour; but they barely lead even now with a community of fifty thousand. It deserves notice that the immobile Russian Church

has for once undertaken foreign work, and with five hundred native agents has brought together some twenty-five thousand converts. This is thoroughly abnormal, and the recent war is not likely to increase the facilities for this section of Christendom.

Japan was forced open by the United States, and Christian Americans rose to the responsibility by providing most of the seven hundred labourers who to-day have gathered fifty thousand converts into native churches, many of them men in the front rank of thinkers and statesmen.

The religions in possession were Shinto and Buddhism. The former even as restored hardly dare call itself a religion, though it expresses the ancient faith and practice; perhaps its strength to-day is in its intense patriotism, which impels a man to face all risks on behalf of his land and his Mikado. Add to this the ancestor-worship which prevails in most families, and we have two familiar factors which must be recognised, transformed, and taken up into any Japanese Christianity. The fortunes of Buddhism here illustrate well the versatile and imitative propensities of the people. It spread over the land, amalgamating with the native customs, till the Buddhists of the mainland viewed the result askance. A revival of Shinto seemed to dethrone it, but the monks prove themselves ready to lay hands on anything if only they can preserve their predominance. If, then, it seems to the authorities that Japan can only secure her place in the family of Western nations by adopting Christianity,

officially or semi-officially, the great body of Buddhist monks will have to be seriously reckoned with as likely to try and capture all the machinery of the Church.

A great blow has been struck at their influence by rules which bar out from the public schools all religious teaching. They have not the zeal to found their own, while the mission schools are steadily training thousands of pupils on Christian lines. As Japan needs no industrial or medical missions, the other chief avenue to success is the simple method of preaching or of social intercourse. There are serious defects in the national character, of truth, depth, honesty, and purity; and some observers fear that these will militate against the adoption of Christianity. But the message of Jesus Christ is precisely that His grace will supply whatever is lacking. Dr. William Eliot Griffis, who has had much to do with education for the Government, and so is competent to form a sound estimate of the outlook, takes a somewhat hopeful view :—

“ I believe that the Japanese will be a great Christian nation, because they are the type of men who first imitate in order to master; then reflect and compare; then take out what is vital and harmonise it with their own spiritual life—or rather, harmonise their own spiritual life with what is vital to Christianity. Of course, the growth will be very slow. All the talk about the Japanese adopting a state religion is perfect nonsense. Christianity in Japan has a vital and normal growth, and the Japanese

are mastering the true spirit of Christianity. They are more desirous of finding out what Jesus taught than all that has been added to Christianity; and they want to be independent of all foreign control. They claim the right of learning from Christ directly, and doing what we have done, namely, put Christianity into the form best suited to the national life. This does not mean that they will not warmly and gratefully accept the teaching, advice, and help of foreigners; but they are determined, for the most part, that the native Church organisation shall be Japanese, not Yankee or British or German. There seems to me very little hope for English, Scottish, or American religion in Japan. But for the religion of Jesus Christ, suited to the Japanese mind and land, there are hopes that remind me of an unclouded sunrise."

There may then arise a new Oriental Church, appreciating features in the Gospel which are in the shade for us, and practising on lines which we have dismissed as merely ideal. If in any way, or from any motive, there arise a strong Christian Church in Japan, this island empire will have to be reckoned on as the nearest and most important base of operations on the great and trustworthy nation of China, now slowly girding herself to take some active share in the world's history. Already, indeed, the students of India have been impressed by a deputation of Japanese, who showed that Christianity is not a religion for foreign rulers alone, but also has elements that commend it to Asia.

6. THE CRADLE OF CHRISTENDOM

The pale-faced Frank among them sits ; what brought him from afar ?

Nor bears he bales of merchandise, nor teaches skill in war :
One pearl alone he brings with him, the Book of Life and Death ;
One warfare only teaches he, to fight the fight of faith.

And Iran's sons are round him, and one with solemn tone,
Tells how the Lord of Glory was rejected by His own ;
Tells from the wondrous Gospel, of the trial and the doom,
The words Divine of love and might, the scourge, the cross, the tomb.
ALFORD.

Westward we reach again Persia, Arabia, and Turkey-in-Asia, now all Muslim. Here are sprinkled thinly over the land the few remnants of once mighty Churches, which Rome and Canterbury and Moscow are seeking to influence, but which seem cowed by misfortune and quite unable to arise and preach the Gospel. Once it went to India, which to-day holds some sixty millions of Muslims ; once it went to China, which to-day holds thirty millions ; once it went to Central Asia, where to-day Russia rules fifteen millions. Now the Christians here are submerged beneath thirty million Muslims, under Muslim rulers, where Muslim laws are in force, so that direct propagation of the Gospel is illegal, and where massacre of Christians is frequent. The cuckoo of Islam has usurped the nest of Christendom, and all but emptied it of its natural inhabitants. The land of Abraham, Rebekah, and Rachel, the land over which Ishmael wandered, the land where Israel wrestled with God and prevailed, the land that sheltered

Joseph and a greater than Joseph, the land whence Cyrus came to free the captives of Babylon—all these lands are to-day the citadel of Islam. Christian Antioch and Alexandria and Ephesus and Babylon have been supplanted by Muslim Damascus and Cairo and Smyrna and Baghdad, which with Teheran and Cabul all look up to Mecca.

Such facts bring us face to face with the deeper problem of Islam, not simply viewed as a rival missionary force, but as a possible field of missionary effort.

The progress of Islam has slackened, if not stopped. She relied first on her sword, and her story avouches afresh that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword. In response to the Berber attack upon Spain, Spanish military orders were formed and regained the Peninsula for Christendom. French crusades to Egypt and Tunis taught the Muslims that they were not invincible, and during last century the political power passed from Islam in half the north coast of Africa. Beyond the Black Sea and in Central Asia the Muslims have passed under the yoke of the Muscovite. The empire of the Mughals in India fell to pieces, and no Muslim ruler sits on his divan there without a British officer in the background. Even on the Danube the Crescent has ceased to shine, and barely three millions of Muslims still cling around the northern shores of the Ægean. Politically Islam is a waning force, nor are its rulers more united than the monarchs of Christian Europe.

She has taken to more peaceful methods, and has found a son of Christian parents to boast of the preaching of

Islam. Admittedly some progress has been made, and is still being made, where this preaching is to races lower in the social scale ; but the adoption of this agency is a tribute to the vitality of Christian methods. Islam has in some quarters lost confidence in herself, and Doctor Miller declares : “ A very significant change has perceptibly come over the Moslem in West Africa ; I believe the time is ripe for a tremendous propaganda to a broken-spirited but still proud people.” ¹

Experience attests that we are mistaken in thinking that the inoculation against Christianity is perfect. The Malays of Java and Sumatra are being rapidly reclaimed from Islam and won for Christ. India has yielded many converts, and Persia also. Egypt itself has seen a student at Al Azhar confess Jesus. That Christianity has something attractive and noble let Bosworth Smith, a friend of Islam, testify : “ The religion of Christ contains whole fields of morality and whole realms of thought which are all but outside the religion of Muhammad. It opens humility, purity of heart, forgiveness of injuries, sacrifice of self to man’s moral nature ; development, boundless progress to his mind.” On the other hand, listen to a few recent estimates of Islam, not from missionaries, but from men of the world who have seen it at close quarters ; the names of Palgrave, Stanley, Lane-Poole, and Colvin should carry weight :—

“ Islam is in its essence stationary.” ² “ As a social

¹ *The Mohammedan World of To-day*, p. 49.

² *Central and Eastern Africa*, vol. i. p. 372.

system Islam is a complete failure.”¹ “A scheme of social life which rests for its authority on the unfruitful traditions of doctors of divinity. . . . does not admit of sustained and continuous progress. Every step forward is barred by some ancient ordinance claiming Divine origin, or the supreme authority of tradition. There are the gross evils of sanctioned concubinage and of polygamy, with their baleful effect on the home-life and character of the family and on the education of children ; the seclusion of women, with all that it implies—both for those who are immured and for the sex from whose social intercourse is excluded the most softening and humanising element available to it. The divine ordinance² of slavery must be reckoned with, which degrades the dignity of labour and of industry, no less than the ideal of humanity. Finally, there is the reluctance of the fatalist to improve upon the position designed for him by his Creator. . . . The majority of the other native inhabitants” of the southern Sudan, “though professing Islam, are little better than their brethren. Ignorance and superstition characterise the Sudan as a whole.”³

In face of this we need to be reminded by Professor Lansing that “the doctrine of fatalism commonly accredited to Islam is not one half so fatalistic in its spirit and operation as that which for thirteen centuries has been practically held by the Christian Church as to the hope of bringing the hosts of Islam into the following of Jesus

¹ *Selections.*

² *i.e.*, ordained by Muhammad’s god.

³ *Making of Modern Egypt*, pp. 409, 368.

Christ.”¹ The practical question is, along what lines can we hope to approach, especially in these lands where Muslim law can be enforced at the will of Sultan or Shah ?

Since direct evangelism is illegal, legal methods deserve first consideration. Preaching the Gospel is indeed the command of Christ ; and in face of that it is not true that the law of Muhammad enforced by the power of any Muslim state is of any authority. But a wise man will ponder carefully whether in any given circumstances he is justified in defying the local law, at the risk of prejudicing his cause, losing his life, and hindering the labours of others who in their own way are unmolested.

Obviously, the chief work, that will excite little or no opposition, is that of laymen and of women. The teaching of the past is clear on this point. Francis of Assisi was a layman ; he not only founded an enthusiastic society of laymen who within forty years had penetrated North Africa and the limits of China, but he in person went to Egypt and spoke of Christ to the Sultan. Ramon Lull was a layman, one of the greatest missionary statesmen that the world has known, and he, too, went once and again to tell of the Saviour at a stronghold of Islam. The layman escapes the scorn and hatred that the Muslim feels for all priests, which even a Protestant minister may easily incur. He is a living example that true Christendom recognises the priesthood of all believers, and that this priesthood expresses itself in aid for all.

Mackay of Uganda found that even among the Arabs

¹ Quoted in Zwemer, *Arabia, the Cradle of Islam*, p. 392.

he was able to work, and his industrial occupations gave him a standing that no ordained missionary would have attained. He urged that we should no longer be content with racing against Islam, but should directly attack her system. His experience warrants us in ranking highly the service which Christian craftsmen can render to the less educated Muslims.

Medical science has never flourished among them, and in the *Arabian Nights* we find that the doctors were usually Christian. From every part of the Muslim field comes testimony that surgeons are as acceptable to-day, and that, as in the practice of our Saviour, the healing of the body can prepare for the healing of the soul. In such fanatical lands as Morocco, Persia, and Afghanistan, hardly any other form of work seems safe.

Literary effort is under no ban; even as early as 830 A.D. a Christian apology was circulated at the court of Baghdad. The printing-press to-day opens the way for this form of propaganda, and nobly has it been used in late years. In the districts where once the Septuagint, the Latin and the Syriac Bibles were produced, there is now available a classical Arabic Bible from the press of Beirut, which also publishes books both apologetic and dogmatic, written expressly for Muslims. Some workers are even hardy enough to translate the Qur'ân into various vernaculars, that the ordinary man may read it and recognise how much rubbish it contains. All agree that the need in literature is a sympathetic spirit, ready to acknowledge and to use the truth that Islam holds.

As a correlative to literature comes education. This is often undertaken by ministers, but it is most instructive to find the Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner, of Cairo, recognising "fully that in many ways laymen would have a better chance than we have,"¹ and advocating lectures on moral, historical, scientific, and social subjects. Let us not forget that when the classic learning of the Museum at Alexandria was rivalled and excelled by Christian teachers, the first of these showed his interest in foreign missions by a tour to India, while another, the great Origen, won his fame while content to be a layman. In Persia the same agency is found most effective, while in Turkey nothing is found to equal it. While the great colleges of Constantinople, Beirut, and Urumiah remind us of the height to which this work may be developed, it is to be remembered that the illiterate classes owe all their opportunities to missions, either in Christian schools, or to Muslim schools founded in rivalry. Egypt is thus being transformed, and one mission alone caters for two thousand five hundred pupils.

If all this lies open for the layman, his sisters find similar openings in hospital and school, and also have their unique scope in the home. Muslim women are secluded and grow up in ignorance and idleness; visits are their chief recreation, steady visitation by Christian women is generally welcomed. Such intercourse in harem and zenana is invaluable for its influence on women and on children at their impressionable age.

¹ *Methods of Mission Work among Moslems*, p. 69.

The Muslims are naturally jealous of the European Powers on whom they once encroached, and who now are encroaching on them. Britain, France, Holland, Russia, and Germany rule over more than two-thirds of Islam, and are pressing dangerously on the rest; their missionaries, therefore, are to a certain extent suspect as political agents. America is hardly viewed as dangerous in this way, and it follows that American missionaries have certain advantages in Muslim lands; happily the great societies have recognised this and acted upon it.

On the other hand, the Catholic missions are constantly beset with a corresponding danger; despite the famous *bonhomie* of the French, they sooner or later develop a double political mission—subjection to the Pope, preparation for French dominion. If their plan of celibacy enables them to pioneer with great speed and cheapness, they often are unable to follow up or retain their initial success, because they have no home life. It might be thought that this defect could be offset by the labour of nuns. But these are by no means as conspicuous on the mission field as the priests and friars, or as Protestant zenana workers. Indeed, the whole Romish system is antagonistic to their independent action; for it is sacerdotal, depending upon priests, and no woman can be a priest. Monks and friars were originally laymen, and by their side could naturally grow up corresponding associations of women; but the sacerdotal ideal transformed the men into priests, and when Loyola founded his Company of Jesus, all in training for the priest-

hood, he logically enough declined to institute a female society. This greatest of all Roman missionary agencies therefore is specially crippled by lacking all the feminine side.

Islam is a modified Judaism, and the problem of winning the one leads us back to where we began, the problem of winning the Chosen People. Whately and Paley might see in the preservation of this race only a testimony to the truth of Christianity; but the presence of twelve millions of Jews, still reading their Law, should set us asking what God means practically by this remarkable phenomenon. Eight hundred Christian workers to-day attest that they accept Paul's hope for the conversion of his kindred, and labour for it constantly. The tenacity of Israel under oppression is a marvel; and when a Jew recognises Jesus as his Messiah, he is equally tenacious of the new truth. As a rule, he feels it wrong to hide his light under a bushel, and becomes an earnest preacher of the faith he once denied.

We are justified in expecting a mass movement of the Jews, and expecting that this shall lead directly to the evangelisation of the world—such was the philosophy of Paul. Now, may we not go a step further, and see that there are special affinities between Jew and Muslim, and that the Jewish-Christian Missionary has this advantage over the Gentile, that he is absolutely exempt from the charges of saint-worship, sacerdotalism, and idolatry? If our hope may justly be that the receiving of the Jew shall bring life from the dead, then the Jewish hope may justly

be that he is called to be God's agent in the fulfilment of Abraham's wish—Oh that Ishmael might live before Thee !

O house of Jacob, come,
And walk with us in light :
No more bewildered roam
Like wanderers in the night :
The Hope of Israel calls you near,
And Abraham's Shield, and Isaac's Fear.

Rise, Jacob, from thy woes,
And thy Messiah see :
He Who thy fathers chose
Has not forgotten thee :
At His command, we bid you come ;
Her Israel, Zion welcomes home.

HURN.

Here we close our survey of what God has wrought in these nineteen centuries. Blundering and imperfect are His agents ; yet through all the surface mistakes and failures, somewhat of the Divine plan can be discerned. Such plan our Lord may well expect us to trace ; but too often He has to ask in sadness, " Do ye not yet understand ? " The Father of glory is ready to give us a spirit of wisdom, that having the eyes of our heart enlightened, we may recognize the exceeding greatness of His power. If these pages, with all their imperfections, shall prompt any one to study prayerfully for himself the missions of the past, then that story of God's working can purify motives, enkindle zeal, and send afresh to the feet of Him who would always delay every would-be missionary till he receives that infilling of the Spirit that shall empower and inspire to successful service.

SEVENTEEN CENTURIES OF MISSIONS.

OCCUPIED (AND LOST).	A.D.	HELPERS (AND OPPONENTS).		BIBLE VERSIONS.
		Corporate.	Individual.	
Ephesus, Rome	30	The Church (Roman Empire)	Paul, Thomas, etc. (NERO)	Septuagint
Edessa	100		Addai, Tatian	
Alexandria			Pantænus	Latin
Carthage	200		(Celsus)	Syriac
			(DECIUS)	
Armenia	300	(Zoroastrianism)	(Porphyry)	
Eastern Empire		(Mithraism)	(DIOCLETIAN)	
Spain			CONSTANTINE	Coptic
Abyssinia	400	(Manichæism)	Martin, Ninian	Armenian
Italy			Frumentius, Wulf	Gothic
Ireland			CHRYSTOSTOM	Vulgate
France	500	Persian Church	HONORATUS	Peshito Syriac
Scotland		Scottish monks	Columba	
Arabia			Columban, Gall	
South Germany	600	Benedictines	Kentigern	Ethiopic
Cochin (Arabia)		(Islam)	Austin, GREGORY	
England (Egypt)			(Muhammad)	
North China (Africa)	700		Aidan	Qur'ân
North Germany (Spain)			Boniface	
Tatary				
	800		CHARLES MARTEL	
Denmark			CHARLES THE GREAT	
			ALCUIN	

SEVENTEEN CENTURIES OF MISSIONS—*Continued.*

OCCUPIED (AND LOST).	A.D.	HELPERS (AND OPPONENTS).		BIBLE VERSIONS.
		Corporate.	Individual.	
Sweden (China)			Anskar	
Moravia (Tatary)	900		Cyril and Methodius	Slavonic
Bulgaria				
Russia			HAAKON	
Norway	1000		OLAF	
Poland		Crusaders.	PETER THE HERMIT	
			THE CID	
Pomerania	1100	Knights of St. John		
Wendland		Knights Templars		
(Edessa)		Knights of Santiago		
Livonia	1200	Order of the Sword		
Tatary and China		Friars	Francis of Assisi	
Prussia				
Lithuania	1300	(Lamaism)	Ramon Lull	
Spain			(TIMUR)	
(All Asia)	1400			
			HENRY OF PORTUGAL	
Congo (Turkey)		Spanish Inquisition	COLUMBUS	
West Indies	1500			
Mexico				
Philippines		Jesuits	Francis Xavier	
Peru, etc. ; East Indies	1600	Propaganda		Formosan, Malay
Atlantic seaboard		New England Co.	John Eliot	Virginian
California (Congo)		Society for Advancing Christian Faith	Schultz	Massachusetts
Tranquebar	1700	Society for the Prop- agation of the Gospel	Ziegenbalg	Tamil, Portuguese
	1732	Moravians	open a new era	

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Index



Abyssinia, 116 ff., 149.
 Addai in Edessa, 15.
 Afrahat in Persia, 19.
 Africa, 109 ff.
 Aidan at Lindisfarne, 85.
 Amateur missionaries, 145.
 America, 153 ff.
 Anatolia or Asia Minor—
 influenced by Buddhism, 30.
 allied with Europe, 58.
 evangelised by a native, 61.
 won before Constantine, 67.
 subdued by Islam, 98.
 Anchieta in Brazil, 155.
 Anskar in Norway, 92.
 Arabia, 115 ff.
Arabian Nights and Muslim cus-
 toms, 23, 137, 228.
 Arabic Bibles, 25, 99, 119, 122, 228.
 Aramaic literature, 15, 17.
 Aristides, 62, 111.
 Armenia, 16.
 Asia, 3 ff., 191 ff.
 Asoka, 28, 30.
 Australia, 206.
 Authority of missionaries, 64,
 87, 103.
 Avesta, sacred book of Zoroas-
 trians, 20.
 Babylon in Egypt, headquarters
 of Coptic Christianity—
 Jews converted, 111.
 Destroyed by Muslims, 123.
 Babylon in Persia, nominal head-
 quarters of Asiatic Chris-
 tianity, 20.
 Bar-Daisān, the theologian, 15.

Benedict, the monk, 72, 75.
 Berbers neglected, 113; and lost,
 126.
 Bible—
 derived from Jews, 13, 60.
 ancient use, 82, 88, 101, 104.
 modern use, 143, 208.
 Catholic disuse, 162.
 Translations—
 Abyssinian, 118.
 Arabic, 25, 99, 119, 122, 228.
 Chinese, 42, 216.
 Coptic, 112, 123.
 English, 88.
 Formosan, 202.
 Gothic, 88, 104.
 Latin, 90, 101, 114.
 Malay, 28.
 Negro, 143.
 North India, 204, 208.
 Pahlavi, none, 21.
 Persic, 22, 26.
 Portuguese, 203.
 Slavonic, 96.
 Syriac, 15, 20.
 Tamil and Singhalese, 28, 203.
 Tatar, 45.
 Bibliography, 235
 Boniface, the organiser, 89.
 Brāhmans or Hindu priests—
 adaptive, 17, 31, 198.
 advance exclusive claims, 32,
 211.
 gain North India, 38.
 gain South India, 204.
 possible friends, 39.
 Brazil, 155, 159, 164.
 Britain, 73, 77.

Buddhism—

- origin in India, 29.
- its defects, 31, 38.
- influence on Christianity, 19.
 - on Mani, 75.
- decay in India, 35.
- in Burma, 209.
 - Ceylon, 202.
 - China, 41, 217.
 - Japan, 220.
 - Tatary, 31.
 - Tibet, 50.

Burma, 209.

Carey, the strategist, 208.

Carthage won, 113; and lost, 125.

Caste, 204, 211.

Catholics needing missions, 173 ff., 184 ff.

Celibacy—

- its origin, 12, 19, 29.
- weakness, 20, 229.
- in Egypt, 112.
- Persia, 19.
- Syria, 16.

Ceylon, 202, 209.

Charles the Great, 91, 96, 103, 105.

China, 40 ff., 195, 215 ff.

Clementine Homilies, 7, 9.

Columba in the Hebrides, 81.

Columban on the Continent, 83.

Compromise with heathen customs—

- African, 148.
- European idolatry, 91, 105.
- Greek, 65, 67.
- Irish, 80.
- Mexican, 167.
- Norse, 94.
- Spanish, 72.
- by Jesuits, 194, 198.

Confucius, 41, 217.

Copts, 111 ff., 122, 124, 149.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, 27.

Crusades—

- of Charles the Great, 91, 96.
- Edward I., 46.
- Olaf, 92.
- in America, 106, 166.
- Egypt, 122, 224.
- Languedoc, 76, 184.

Crusades—

- in Prussia, 97.
- Spain, 98, 153, 224.
- Syria, 4.

Cuthbert of Northumbria, 86.

Cyrene won, 111, 113; and lost, 125.

Cyril and the Slavs, 96.

Danish missions, 204, 207.

“Divine Song,” 33.

Dogmas, permanence of form? 181.

Druids won, 80; customs dropped, 86.

Dutch missions, 202, 209.

Ecuador, 168.

Edessa, early centre, 15, 175.
destroyed, 20.

Education—

- neglected by Rome, 100, 144.
- adopted by Islam, 100, 123, 144.
- for Muslims, 229.
- in Africa, 113, 144.
- America, 158, 166 ff., 174.
- Burgundy, 83.
- China, 216.
- Ireland, 80, 144.
- Japan, 221.
- Scotland, 82.

Eras of missions, xv.

Europe, 57 ff.

Extension vital to Christianity, xiv.

Formosa, 202.

Francis of Assisi, 227.

Francis Xavier, 50, 193, 197.

Friars—

- in America, 153, 162, 166.
- Asia, 192, 196.
- Morocco, 127.
- the Philippines, 201.

Frumentius in Abyssinia, 117.

Gaul evangelised, 72, 77, 83.

Geography of missions, xv.

Glass of Brazil, 164, 168, 170.

Goths, 88.

Great Epic, 31 ff., 210.

Greeks, 59 ff.

- Gregory Illuminator in Armenia, 16.
 Gregory Thaumaturgus in Anatolia, 65.
 Gregory of Rome, statesman, 76, 85, 101.
 Grierson's links between modern Hinduism and Christianity, 33, 212.
 Guiana, 174.
 Hayti, 165.
 Hegesippus, 7, 13.
 Hereditary bishoprics—
 in Armenia, 17.
 Cochin, 28.
 Palestine, 8.
 Hinduism, once akin to Zoroastrianism, 29.
 modified by Brāhmans, 31.
 absorbing Christian elements, 32 ff.
 modern, 209.
 Iceland, 93.
 Idolatry, the old, 91, 101, 120, 166, 196.
 the new, opposed by Persia, 22.
 in America, 169.
 Asia, 40, 213.
 Europe, 69.
 India, 27 ff., 197, 207 ff.
 Industrial work, 102, 158, 163, 201, 228.
 Iona, 82, 85.
 Ireland, 77.
 Islam—
 a modified Judaism, 132, 137, 142.
 influenced by Zoroastrianism, 23.
 by Christianity, 26.
 a brotherhood, 121, 139.
 its progress, 125 ff., 149.
 welcomed by Buddhists, 35.
 paralysing Christian missions, 23, 98.
 a rival mission, 109 ff.
 its rival message, 134 ff.
 tolerance, 46, 98, 122.
 in China, 217.
 Islam—
 in India, 212.
 Persia, 223.
 as a field of missions, 224 ff.
 Italy hard to win, 71.
 Jamaica, 165.
 Japan, 194, 219.
 Java, 203, 225.
 Jesuits—
 in America, 155 ff., 166, 168, 184.
 Asia, 191 ff.
 Jesus Christ—
 primarily the Redeemer, xiii, 5, 12.
 a missionary, 5.
 training missionaries, xiii, 51.
 a teacher, 10.
 the forms of history, 13.
 Jews, 4-14.
 make the great refusal, 6.
 their contribution to missions, 10, 180.
 missionary pioneers, 11, 15, 59.
 in Arabia, 117 ff.
 Egypt, 111.
 North Africa, 127.
 influence the Qur'an, 132, 137.
 missions to, 231.
 Keltic tribes, 77 ff.
 Kentigern in Britain, 81.
 Kings converted, 51, 81, 103.
 to Buddhism, 28, 30.
 Abyssinia, 118.
 Armenia, 16.
 Cochin, 27.
 Ireland, 80.
 Muscovy, 96.
 Northumbria, 86.
 Nubia, 118.
 Rome, 66, 74.
 Krishna, 32.
 Lao Tsze, 42.
 Laymen and Islam, 227.
 Literature among the—
 Chinese, 42.
 Greeks, 66.
 Indians, 208.
 Irish, 82 ff., 88.

- Literature among the—
 Muslims, 228.
 Persians, 25.
 Loyola, 193.
 Lull, 227.
- Mackay of Uganda, 227.
 Mahā Bhārata, 31 ff., 210.
 Manichæism, 75.
 Maoris, 205.
 Marquette, 162.
 Martin of Tours, 77, 79, 83, 101.
 Mecca, pagan, 116; Muslim, 120.
 Medical work, 163, 228.
 Mexico, 166.
 Minim, Christian Jews, 6.
 Mithraism, 73 ff.
 Mongols—
 in China, 44.
 Mongolia, 49.
 Russia, 97.
- Monks—
 Buddhist 30, 42.
 Manichæan, 75.
 Muslim, 147.
 evolution of Christian, 78, 178.
 in Egypt, 112.
 as missionaries, 79, 101.
- Monuments—
 in India, 28.
 China, 43.
 America, 83, 157.
- Moravia, 96.
 Moravians, 130, 154, 174, 199.
 Muhammad—
 life, 119.
 influenced by Jewish Christians,
 9.
 character, 139.
- Native churches, relation to
 missionaries—
 Africa, 130.
 Anatolia, 64.
 Britain, 86.
 Ireland, 80.
 Japan, 195.
 New Zealand, 206.
- Native ministers, 175.
 Africa, 129.
 America, 162, 175.
- Native ministers—
 China, 43, 197.
 Europe, 103.
 India, 28.
 Jamaica, 166.
 Pacific, 201.
- Nazarenes, 6-9.
 "Nestorians," 20, 27. See Persian
 Christianity.
- New Zealand, 205.
 Ninian, 79.
 Nobili, 198.
 Norsemen, 92.
 Nubia, 118, 124.
- Officialism, its risks, 13 ff.
 Olopun in China, 42.
- Organisation of Churches, 180.
 African, 114.
 Chinese, 218.
 Greek, 63.
 Jewish, 8, 62.
 Roman, 71.
- Pacific Islands, 200.
- Pahlavi, a Parthian script of
 Persian, 22.
 in India, 28.
- Pantænus in Baluchistan, 17, 27,
 117.
- Papua, 206.
- Paraguay, 156.
- Parsis, 18 ff.
- Patriarch of Babylon, 20.
 head of Asiatic Christians, 43.
 always a subject, 20, 23, 44.
 persecuted by Muslims, 46.
 despised by Europeans, 48.
 ruined by Mongols, 48.
- Patrick no missionary, 80.
- Persecution by Christians, 66,
 74, 91, 99, 112, 118.
 Jews, 6 ff., 118.
 Muslims, 122 ff.
 Rome, 66, 112.
- Persian Christianity, 17-26.
 missions to India, 31.
 China, 42, 44, 45.
- Peru, 166, 168.
- Pharisees oppose, 6.
- Philippines, 201.

- Philosophers oppose, 65; and influence, 68.
- Poetry—
 English, 88.
 German, 90.
 Indian, 31, 35, 37, 211.
 Syriac, 14.
- Polytheism—
 American, 167 ff.
 Greek, 68.
 Indian, 29.
 Italian, 72.
- Prester John, 45.
- Professional missionaries—
 a Jewish legacy, 11.
 rare in the Middle Ages, 101.
 Muslim, 146.
- Propaganda, 199.
- Protestant missions—
 since 1800 A.D., xv.
 in Asia, 4, 207 ff.
- Prussia, 97.
- Qur'ân, its origin, 131 ff.
 standardised, 121.
 a Christian weapon, 213, 228.
- Rabbûlâ in Persia, 20.
- Rāmānand the Hindi poet, 35.
- Red Indians, 155 ff.
- Rivalry of missions—
 Africa, 114.
 Arabia, 117.
 Britain, 85.
 China, 48.
 Moravia, 96.
 South Seas, 201.
 Spain, 99.
- Romanism—
 reorganised, 193.
 Asiatic, 192.
 European, 186.
 North American, 183 ff.
 South American, 167 ff.
- Rome—
 evangelised, 70.
 evangelising and organising,
 85 ff., 113.
- Rubruck, 193.
- Russia—
 evangelised, 96.
- Russia—
 evangelising, 219.
- Sacerdotalism—
 in India, 31 ff., 211.
 opposed by Muhammad, 135,
 227.
 cramps women's work, 230.
- Sacramentalism from Greeks, 65,
 69.
- Saint-worship, 68, 136.
- Sanusîs of the Sahara, 147.
- Schwartz in India, 208.
- Septuagint—
 executed by Jews, 60.
 adopted by Christians, 61.
- Serampur, 208.
- Shinto, 220.
- Simplicity, 51.
- Slavery—
 Christian, 85, 92, 103, 129.
 Muslim, 147.
 Spanish, 160.
- Spain—
 evangelised, 72.
 lost, 98.
 regained, 99, 153.
- State influence, 124, 150, 204, 215,
 221, 230.
- Strategy, 200.
 of Carey, 208.
 Gregory, 76.
 Paul, 51, 60, 231.
 in Asia, none, 51.
 Europe, 104.
- Sumatra, 225.
- Sunday schools, 180.
- Support of missionaries, 102.
 our Lord, 12.
 Paul, 62.
 Boniface, 90.
- Support of Chinese pastors, 218.
- Syrian Christianity—
 ancient, 14 ff.
 modern, 175, 223.
- Talmudic view of Jewish Chris-
 tians, 8.
- Tamil Bible, 28, 203.
- Tamil Church in Cochin—
 founded, 27.

- Tamil Church in Cochin—
 influence in India, 34, 37.
 fossilised, 50, 212.
- Taoism—
 founded, 42.
 altered by Christianity, 48, 50.
 stagnant, 217.
- Tatars in China, 43.
 in India, 31.
 Mongolia, 44.
 Persia, 46.
- Tatian, 15, 62, 90.
- Theodore of Constantinople, 118.
- Theophilus of Socotra, 117.
- Thomas the missionary, 17.
 church of, 18, 197.
 in Asia, 28 ff., 42 ff.
 supine to-day, 207.
- Tibet: Buddhist rites from Persians, 50.
- Timur destroys Asiatic Christianity, 49.
- Traders and missions, 145, 148, 187, 201, 219.
- Training of missionaries—
 in Asia, none, 51.
 England, 86.
 Muslims, 146.
 slaves, 85, 92, 103, 129.
 women, 86.
 modern, 199, 201.
- Training of native converts—
 China, 43.
 Europe, 175.
- Training of native converts—
 Jamaica, 166.
 Paraguay, 162.
 Syria, 175.
- Tulasī Dās, the poet, 35.
- Variety desirable, 177.
 national basis, 216 ff., 221.
- Vedic Hinduism, 29; extinct, 39.
- Women—
 Christianity, 40.
 under Buddhism, 38.
 Islam, 142.
 Mithraism, 74.
 trained by Hilda, 86.
 as missionaries, 90, 229.
- Worship based on synagogue, 13, 180.
- Wulf the Goth, 88, 114.
- Xavier, 50, 193, 197.
- Ximenes, 99.
- Yabh-Alaha of Pekin, 45 ff.
- Ziegenbalg of India, 204.
- Zoroaster the reformer, 18.
- Zoroastrianism—
 in Arabia, 119.
 China, 43.
 Persia, 18 ff.
 the Qur'ân, 133.
 leavening Islam, 23.

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